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On the Beat: A survey of surveillance in Brooklyn, NY

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On the Beat:

A survey of surveillance in Brooklyn, NY

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Vassar College Senior Thesis

Department of Urban Studies

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Chapter 1: An Introduction

On a sweaty Tuesday afternoon in mid-July, inside a windowless cube barricaded by walls and a ceiling of cement, I stand with five others, perspiring in our suits. We wait patiently for our government escort, as a man sits less than three yards away staring at us vacantly, separated only by an intricate set of locks and a grid of steel. After allowing enough time for us to become palpably uncomfortable, from the gaze of both the uniformed men in blue, and the confined man to our right, we proceed upstairs to the holding cells. By the second flight of our ascent, we're met with a stale, noisome odor wafting from above, and as we breach the landing it becomes nearly unbearable. From lack of ventilation, the air's humidity feels saturated with sweat and waste. Over 40 men stand shoulder to shoulder, in cells with a capacity of 25, behind similarly symmetrical cubic patterns of metal, again staring out from their captivity. On this day, not one of the dozens of men behind the bars of the Bronx Court House pre-arraignment cells is white. They stand, festering in their own sweat on the third floor of the courthouse building, suffocated by rising heat. Despite the City's legal obligation to process every detainee within 24 hours, many have been standing since their weekend arrests. The detainees grieve their concerns: malfunctioning telephones, unsanitary communal toilets, indigestible food... all the provisions to which they are entitled. Yet not one man complained of the consuming heat or aching legs from standing for hours on end, as if these common standards of decency were not inherently theirs to request.

The high ceilings of the courtroom provide relief from the stagnant, pungent air of the holding cells. One by one men of color approach the stand in shackles, the judge greeting each with familiarity. Rap sheets read: open container violation, marijuana possession, vandalism, trespassing, disorderly conduct, biking on the sidewalk ... each offense more negligible than the last. The charade continued in comical repetition: a cuffed man emerges from a door to the left of the court room escorted by a white uniformed officer, he stands

silently as papers are shuffled and within three minutes, professional men and women in suits efficiently decide each one's fate just in time for the next to appear.

This procession of Black and brown men, whose existence is contained, controlled and negotiated by those in power, is hauntingly reminiscent of an antebellum America. Lacking nothing short of shackles and chains, the mass incarceration of people of color, policed and controlled by their white counterparts, is a relic of the nation's former institutionalized racial structures and systemic hegemony. We live in a modern democracy wherein African American Harvard professors are arrested on their own doorsteps, over one million people of color are behind bars, innocent teens are murdered on the grounds of their apparel, all the while experiencing the greatest income inequality of any developed nation. How can we reconcile these malfeasances with proverbial values of freedom, liberty, and justice for all that define our Americanness? How did we arrive at this state of seemingly *de facto* segregation of power and confinement? And more concretely, where and how is this occurring?

The path to imprisonment begins with an arrest. Arrests are likely to occur in public space or on a street, in an encounter with law enforcement. One can assume that this is an urban street, as nationally we condemn the metropolis as a space of flourishing crime and vice, juxtaposed against its rural counterparts¹. The media attention granted to urban policing, urban crime, and urban delinquents dramatically increased in recent decades, corresponding to a peaking prison population in 1999 with 71,466 detained individuals in New York State alone.² Thus it's essential to retrace our steps geographically, understanding out of what ashes such a state of mass incarceration has risen, where these convicted men and women come from, what happens in city streets, and how police interact with these spaces. It is the

¹ Over 60% of inmates in New York State Custody are from the five boroughs. Nationally, robbery for example is 54 times more likely to occur in a city of 250,000 or more.

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/rcrp.pdf>

² provided by The Correctional Association of NY, www.correctionalassociation.org

responsibility of the urbanist to examine the intersections of city and crime. The specificity of the urban crime paradigm is one to be interrogated through a plurality of disciplines, one that cannot be fully accounted for by government statistics or media narratives.

The New York Police Department (NYPD) strategically deploys its manpower throughout the city in what they determine to be an efficient allocation of their resources. The city is divided into 76 precincts throughout the five boroughs, in addition to specialized narcotics, transit, and public housing units. Thanks to technological innovations, policing now involves speed radar guns, GPS tracking, wiretapping and video surveillance. This increasing speed of information is presumed to produce increasingly efficient crime fighting strategies and in turn safer streets for the public to enjoy. Yet police are not the only ones responsible, voluntarily or involuntarily, for the protection and surveillance of public space. Shop owners, landlords, passersby, mothers, homeless teens, teachers, and other local characters greatly contribute to the security of our neighborhoods. Police and citizens play equally critical roles in the surveillance of their city; inanimate urban forms may prove just as imposing and/or effective in securing city safety. Again the use of camera surveillance, employed widely by the NYPD as well as private enterprises, provides anonymous and often distant scrutiny. But aside from these installed, digital forms of watching, urban design can itself create or condone surveillance. The height of buildings casting shadows, the width of sidewalks creating distance between strollers, locations of stoops and benches for loitering, the *mélange* of commercial and residential use can produce spaces of surveillance, community or neglect.

Three varying, yet nonexclusive, theories of surveillance will be examined and applied in a case study of four Brooklyn neighborhoods. The first is that of Jane Jacobs, the iconic urbanist who destroyed many titans of her era with her democratic and inclusive vision of the city. Her text *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* serves as a manual for the creation

of charming, communal city life, an essential aspect of which is safety. Jacobs was a pioneer of mixed use, emphasizing the necessity of busy, well-used streets to ensure communal policing. Her interpretation of surveillance requires the participation of strangers, residents, and proprietors in the city's sidewalk ballet to monitor each other's behavior. A secondary, and seemingly juxtaposed lens through which we may interpret surveillance is Michel Foucault's rendition of the Panopticon³. A perfection of efficiency, intimidation, and power, the original Panopticon maximizes its scope of surveillance. By the awareness and discomfort that someone could always be watching; thanks to architectural design, the panopticon induces compliance without requiring constant supervision. Lastly, Wilson & Kelling's theory of Broken Windows, while somewhat distant from more concrete surveillance theories, emphasizes the importance of community policing. Resolving and targeting minor misdemeanors theoretically shields and prevents the streets from more menacing felonies; increased police presence and decreased visible urban disorder are believed to foster confidence and security among urban dwellers.

What forms do urban surveillance and policing take? How do the above theories interact with the built environment and police patrols? What defines the surveillance applied to each neighborhood? And lastly, what are the implications of inconsistent policing and surveillance forms? These questions are addressed in examining the built environment of four neighborhoods through data, interviews and peripatetic observational strolls. Taking into account the diverse demographics of the selected neighborhoods and their even more diverse urban forms, the found predominating determinate in aggressive surveillance is race. Despite an absence of aesthetic urban disorder, despite the mixed use of streets and integration of residential and commercial real estate, despite the incorporation of well lit streets and

³ Theorist Jeremy Bentham first realized the Panopticon as an ideal construction for prisons in 1791. Foucault made use of it in his text *Discipline and Punish*, 1975.

beautiful parks, Foucauldian power and surveillance was consistently exerted across the Blackest corners of the four neighborhoods of study.

This thesis employs interdisciplinary methods to examine the strategies of policing in four, geographically and socioeconomically diverse Brooklyn communities. In the data collected, I found that police focused more attention and resources in minority neighborhoods, yet the forms that these resources took were diverse. Despite the variations, I found consistent racially defined trends in the intimidating and omnipresent policing strategies of the NYPD. Provided arrest data confirmed that there were a greater number of aggregate arrests, with fewer arrests leading to convictions, in the Blackest neighborhood of study; the inverse was also true of the whitest neighborhood. Examinations of urban decay and social space in each neighborhood illuminated the fallacies of the Broken Windows theory and the paradoxes of civilian eyes upon the street. Overwhelmingly, white spaces of sociability were left to police themselves, while their minority counterparts were scrutinized, regulated, and subject to the ubiquitous gaze of the state.

In chapter two I will further discuss the three surveillance theories; Jacobs, Foucault, and Wilson & Kelling. While Foucault's theory has proved most applicable in the targeted policing of minority neighborhoods, Jacobs proves useful in understanding the urban design of safety and the role that capital and residency play in security. Wilson & Kelling's hypothesis is multidimensional and laden with controversy, but does critically enlighten the importance of visibility and intimacy. Chapter three is the first empirically studied neighborhood, exemplary of young, white, bustling communities with very limited police presence. Chapter four explores a highly exceptional, isolated neighborhood with few crimes as measured by statistics, but an assertively visible police presence, and a large minority presence. In chapter five, we see how police forces interact with other state agencies and capital interests, often leading to neglect and alienation of the local residential population.

Lastly in our largest and most minority-defined community, chapter six typifies the overwhelming presence of the NYPD in what appear to be racially targeted policing strategies. Finally in conclusion, chapter seven will reiterate the claims of this paper and their imperative social, political and economic implications.

Methodology

This project compiles observational field notes, interviews, and government agency data to provide an analysis of urban surveillance and its forms. Gaining access to these documents and the NYPD was surprisingly challenging, perhaps more so than the empirical research itself. My personal experience reflected the notorious lack of transparency in police practices, in my attempts to obtain permission formally to interview officers from the four precincts. Regardless of several phone calls and verbal confirmation that I, as a student researcher, was allowed to speak with a precinct representative, upon arrival at the 76th precinct I was promptly denied and told to submit a formal request to the Deputy Commissioner of Public Information. After four emails, a dozen phone calls, and two letters over a period of one month, this authorization was finally granted, or more accurately I was granted permission to not have permission: “If this is for a class it does not have to get approved by this office.” Yet even with this official blessing, incessant phone calls and emails did little to reassure officers of Brooklyn precincts that they could in fact meet with me.

One semi-structured interview was conducted, after sufficient badgering, with an officer at each of the four precincts. All officers were asked eight identical questions⁴. Other questions were posed as clarification based on comments made by the officer, or to investigate characteristics specific to that neighborhood (for example: How does your office work with the local BID?). These interviews took place at each of the precincts, and lasted for approximately 30 minutes. A tape recorder was not used out of concerns of anonymity and

⁴ See Appendix F for NYPD Interviews

trust in the officers; considering the officers' apprehension in scheduling interviews, I anticipated much more hostility if a recorder were to be used. Thus interviews were documented only by note taking.

Collection of field notes and observations also proved challenging, thanks to city bureaucracy. Originally, I hoped to observe officers performing their duties, walking beats or joining patrols for ride-alongs. The latter, is reserved only for licensed residents of New York State, and generally restricted to community members who wish to familiarize themselves with police duties in their own neighborhood. Furthermore, the NYPD limits citizens to one ride-along per year, thus eliminating any possibility of cross-precinct analysis. Theoretically, the ride-along program provides a unique opportunity for the public to engage with notoriously isolated law enforcement officers, and their procedures. Yet unfortunately, in practice the program is again exclusionary and swathed in red tape, rejecting a significant percent of the city's population without or hesitant to reveal their New York state identification, particularly those who regularly encounter the NYPD.

Thus with limited alternatives, I set out on foot, in pursuit of officers walking beats on Friday and Saturday evenings after nightfall. Weekend evenings are largely a time of leisure and we can make the assumption that the majority of the dwellers present in the neighborhood are there somewhat voluntarily, furthering the claim that each neighborhood has an element of homogeneity in its character and clientele. Conventionally seen as the hours of vice and delinquency, observing police during weekend nights was expected to produce a greater number of observed encounters between police and citizens. Although this may be validated by urban theory, none of the four officers I interviewed confirmed that there were any temporal trends in their policing strategies, thus implying that the presence of officers on at noon on Tuesday differs only randomly from that of a weekend evening.

Without avenues to formally follow police on duty, observations were conducted in each neighborhood for a period of one hour on five different occasions, under the initial premise of finding and pursuing an officer on foot; however, few were found and in only one precinct. The goal of field observation was to note the location and frequency of police presence in each neighborhood, allowing us to identify patterns in police surveillance. It became apparent after the first rounds of observation that NYPD vehicles or signs were more likely to be seen on major arterials and busy commercial streets in each neighborhood rather than residential blocks, thus those streets were my primary paths of observation routes. As spatial trends emerged neighborhood by neighborhood, I focused more attention on urban spaces resembling those where officers had been frequently seen.

Unlike conventional field observation, data collection entailed patrolling the major avenues of each neighborhood, following or looking for squad cars, sirens, or flashing cop lights; thus rather than remaining stationary, I was constantly mobile. The change of focus and scenery implies that my notes and observations are much less comprehensive than those completed while immobile; minute details and nuances were foregone for the sake of encountering more forms of law enforcement, and most importantly allowing me to identify the plurality of its locations. Although I do believe I properly noted every marked police vehicle or officer sighted during my observation, this does not imply that I was able to note all incidents of street crime, violations, or the presence of undercover officers. Again, with the goal of identifying the geography of policing and surveillance, finer details were knowingly sacrificed for the sake of an enlarged spatial analysis.

It's imperative to note the way in which my presence may have altered behavior in each community. Particularly in sections of Red Hook and Crown Heights, it was evident that I, as a young white female walking alone, did not belong to that community. There were several instances in which my presence was commented on by neighborhood dwellers, one

incident in the 76th precinct (to be further elaborated), likely impacted police action. Despite these interferences, it is unlikely that my presence greatly altered the paths of patrolling police cars, most of whom would have only seen a glimpse of me in passing. Again whether or not police altered their behavior in an encounter with citizens is unimportant; rather for the purposes of this study it was primarily useful to note the location of officers. It seems unlikely that this was disrupted by my presence on the street.

Field observations and interviews thus narrate and embody the NYPD's surveillance tactics in the four communities. Other government data collected from the State Division of Criminal Justice Services and the Census Bureau provide concrete statistical representations of the population residing in each community, and the historical trends in police arrests and convicted criminal acts. Although all these forms of data reflect the official residents of each community, excluding people who may frequent the neighborhood and engage with police, they are nonetheless relevant in providing descriptive statistics and character of the neighborhood.

There are two pitfalls to be addressed before continuing, the first being the predictable ecological fallacy in the study of urban neighborhoods⁵. Much of this statistical data used for analysis later in the research may conflate the aggregate data for residents of a particular neighborhood, with those present on its streets. For example: when processing data for arrests in the 84th precinct, we cannot assume that those arrested are residents of the precinct, and thus that they are representative of demographic census data for the area. However, this thesis will make the assumption that each neighborhood selected (particularly for this purpose) has a well established reputation among New York City residents, that its shops cater to a particular

⁵ "The ecological fallacy consists in thinking that relationships observed for groups necessarily hold for individuals... These inferences may be correct, but are only weakly supported by the aggregate data." David Freedman, *Ecological Inference and the Ecological Fallacy*

clientele, that people observed on the streets are of a similar audience, one that is largely consistent and somewhat reflected in census data; the cause or correlation of these similarities is of little importance for our purposes.

Additionally, one might make the claim that urban minorities commit more crimes, thus they are (and should be) subject to heavier policing and surveillance. This research focuses more heavily on minor infractions that occur in public space, such as biking on the sidewalk and open containers, which are not believed to be committed at a higher frequency in low-income or minority neighborhoods. Further, theoretical texts will explore the ways in which surveillance propagates and breeds criminal behavior, leading to a cyclical puzzle of *the chicken or the egg*. Thus the greater representation of Latinos and African Americans in crime statistics neither refutes nor furthers the claim of this work, but rather runs tangential to this thesis, intersecting in concluding discussions regarding the implications of varied and discriminatory surveillance forms.

Neighborhoods

This thesis does not to delve deeply into the theoretical conversation of what is and is not an urban neighborhood. The four Brooklyn areas selected for study are all identified by local culture and media as a geographical space, with somewhat visible and clear boundaries, and a moderately homogenous character. Each was selected for its modest crime levels, diverse built environment and socioeconomic demographics.

North Williamsburg and the 94th Precinct: Recently acclaimed as a young hipster Mecca, Williamsburg is a burgeoning district bordering the East River to the west and Queens to the north. The 94th precinct includes the northern, most prosperous side of Williamsburg, which is populated with wealthy students, professionals and young families, in addition to Greenpoint, home to one of the largest Polish populations west of the Atlantic. The lines between the two communities have blurred as gentrification has run its course, unraveling into

a trendy, white neighborhood, oozing with quaint, seemingly authentic, dilapidated urban appeal. Streets are cluttered from 6pm until 1am weekly, and strangely vacant during morning's hours. In addition to Greenpoint's Industrial Business Zone, commercial use of the neighborhood is comprised primarily of bars, cafes, vintage shops, artisan retailers, bodegas, and restaurants.

Red Hook and the 76th Precinct: The borders of this precinct are more generous than the area selected for study; incorporating both the upper middle class, family oriented Carroll Gardens (which borders the 84th on its northern edge) and Red Hook. The overpass of the Brooklyn Queens Expressway perceptibly draws the boundary between the two communities, isolating Red Hook residents on the other side of the tracks. Although Red Hook provides service paths for ships and commercial trucks, public transit options for residents are limited to but one city bus line. This isolation has led to late residential development in Red Hook, with the exception of Brooklyn's largest and oldest public housing development⁶. A mix of industrial factories and three to five story residencies brought gritty charm to the neighborhood. This trend was recently supplemented by the construction of a monstrous IKEA and Fairway Market. Unsurprisingly these large shops have furthered the development of artsy local businesses and residential growth.

Downtown Brooklyn and the 84th Precinct: Representing the third largest commercial center outside of Midtown and Downtown Manhattan, Downtown Brooklyn is a central location for government agencies, transportation, corporations, and real estate⁷. With this title as a commercial mega center, comes the installment of many national chain stores, erasing the typical intimate character of Brooklyn, for more profitable pursuits. The area attracts many

⁶ According to the New York City Housing Authority.
<http://www.nyc.gov/html/nycha/html/about/factsheet.shtml>

⁷ Department of City Planning:
<http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/dwnbklyn2/dwnbklynintro1.shtml>

outsiders for its iconic Brooklyn and Manhattan bridges, the large Fulton Street Mall, the Borough Hall and Court House. Residential development has blossomed with new high-rises of glass and steel, followed by a subsequent increase in local dining spots and grocery stores. Racially the neighborhood serves varied demographics as a result of its public housing projects, government agencies, historic brownstones, and megastores.

Crown Heights and the 71st Precinct: Boundaries of this precinct disregard conventional boundaries of populations. Interestingly, the 71st is home to a large Caribbean population surrounding an insular Hasidic Jewish community. Although other populations have recently moved in along Prospect Park and Eastern Parkway, these remain the two dominant demographics of the neighborhood. Major avenues are scattered with barber shops, loan banks, delis, nail salons, churches and take out restaurants, complimented by long, quiet, residential blocks separating each avenue. The two primary diverging ethnic communities include families, elderly, young adults and singles. Unique to the 71st precinct is the general lack of imposing, manufacturing and/or national businesses; with no commercial zoning or large national corporations the neighborhood's proprietors retain some amount of autonomy and loyalty in patronage.

Let us now turn to the theoretical underpinnings of surveillance, before illuminating the diverse applications of these theories, and the racial biases therein.

Chapter 2: Theories of Surveillance, Safety, and Crime

The term “surveillance” in its contemporary usage is heavily weighted by an age of information, ever evolving electronic data collection, and encroaching recording cameras. Yet surveillance for our purposes is more rooted in human rather than digital viewing, as this thesis seeks to address the spatial mapping of mobile bodies through urban space. Jacobs, Foucault, and Wilson & Keeling all attempt to articulate how architecture, urban planning, and decay can breed safe community streets, illusions of violence, and/or threatening crime. Comparing and contrasting these three theorists illuminates the complexities of crime and safety perceptions, preventative informal measures of securing safety and the role of the state embodied by police. In the following chapters these theories will be applied, contorted, accepted and disproved in an analysis of surveillance in the four neighborhoods of study. In chronological order, these theories will be examined and then further compared.

Jane Jacobs, Eyes Upon the Street 1961

In her seminal text *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs eloquently illustrates her vision of a vivacious twentieth century city. The critical determinant of a city for Jacobs, is the overwhelming presence of strangers, which may often lead to fear and uncertainty. Yet, protecting against said worries, successful city sidewalks encourage monitoring, surveillance, and self-policing through active eyes upon the street. By orienting shops with windows open to streets, creating benches and stoops for lounging, city users are manipulated and enticed by street viewing, and thus compelled to interfere when they see potential trouble disrupting the picturesque sidewalk ballet passing before them. For Jacobs, minimal emphasis is put explicitly on who is doing the watching, although I will soon argue that she portrays local landowners as righteous protectors; the awareness of eyes upon the street, available to witness crime, in effect deters it. The street itself according to Jacobs must

be effectively demarcated with no confusion or blurring of public and private space, thus allowing for legal voyeurism, more optimistically called *people watching*. Visibility of public space increases its appeal to passersby, and the desire for others to engage in the sidewalk ballet; much like the flâneur, these participants wander and observe public life and in doing so increase the safety through simultaneous surveillance and use of public space.

One of Jacob's most central principals is that of mixed-use. She encourages this in the use of sidewalks, not only referring to the varied demographics of city sidewalk patrons, but also the temporal mixed use of public space. Contrary to the negative reputation often assigned to noisy bars and nightlife, Jacobs asserts that they provide constant evening activity on the street, preventing the vulnerability of a lone, late-night wanderer on an empty street; *a busy street is a safe street* may well be Jacobs' mantra. She identifies a duality to this essential and constant sidewalk use: "The sidewalk must have users on it fairly continuously, both to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers" (Jacobs 35). Users of city sidewalks thus concurrently represent those doing the watching as well as those being watched, both being innately necessary to ensure safety.

It's critical to return to Jacobs' initial point about the specificity of cities as places full of strangers: an essential urban characterization full of paradoxes. Due to unfamiliarity and subsequent lack of trust between one another, strangers need to be watched, hence the eyes upon the street. Yet, Jacobs simultaneously insists that strangers add to the safety of neighborhoods by increasing their use, density and appeal. Jacobs often celebrates the excitement of urbanism and cosmopolitan city mingling; however, she like many of her contemporaries, vilifies the foreign mugger, burglar, or creep. Those who commit crime are depicted as strangers rather than friends or neighbors. In contrast throughout her account Jacobs notes the essential role of the local proprietor, neighbor, and those familiar with a

micro-city district like her own Greenwich Village, all the while demonizing transient inhabitants of new condominiums and housing projects. In a verbose scene, intended to be an exemplary depiction of the success of eyes upon the street she narrates an encounter between a man and a young girl:

The man seemed to be trying to get the girl to go with him. By turns he was directing a cajoling attention to her, and then assuming an air of nonchalance... From the butcher shop beneath the tenement had emerged the woman who, with her husband, runs the butcher shop; she was standing within earshot of the man, her arms folded with a look of determination on her face. Joe Cornaccha, who with his sons-in-law keeps the delicatessen, emerged about the same moment and stood solidly to the other side... I saw that the locksmith, the fruit man and the laundry proprietor had all come out of their shops... Throughout the duration of the little drama, perhaps five minutes in all, no eyes appeared in the windows of the high-rent, small-apartment building... The high-rent tenants, most of whom are so transient we cannot even keep track of their faces, have not the remotest idea of who takes care of their streets, or how. (Jacobs, 39)

Jacobs works ad nauseam to illuminate the importance of intimacy and familiarity, this vignette is captivating not because of a frightful altercation, but because of neighborhood benevolence. Furthermore she chooses to insist upon the absence of these transient apartment dwellers, as if they are neglecting a lawful duty. Thus eyes upon the street surveillance is essentially performed by community members, protecting their own interests, watchful and skeptical of the unfamiliar.

Michel Foucault, Panopticism 1975

Foucault is often inappropriately credited as the father of the panopticon; responsible for its notoriety, he is consequently referred to as the founder of surveillance theory. His text *Discipline and Punish* (interestingly titled *Surveiller et Punir* in its original French, clearly derivative of the term surveillance rather than discipline) explores the shift in state punishment from disciplining the body, to disciplining the spirit while maintaining a productive body. This transition is epitomized in the dissemination of panoptic architecture, that which allows for a pervasive sense of being watched, while making the watcher invisible. Foucault saw this structure as the ultimate, efficient exercise of state power. In brief synopsis,

the classic panopticon is constructed in cylindrical fashion sectioned horizontally into numerous floors. Each floor, around the circumference, is filled with cells, each facing inward with a window or open bars, allowing visibility towards the center, but thick walls preventing contact on the other three sides. In the center is situated a guard tower, from which an officer may monitor all the captives, but can never be seen himself⁸. This relationship of visibility to invisibility is the essence of the panopticon: “Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power” (Foucault 201). The sensation of omnipresent supervision and surveillance produces conformity with power; although the cylindrical architectural form may vary, this state is the essence of Foucault’s panopticon.

Throughout the text there is a strong emphasis placed on the body. Prior forms of punishment, such as a guillotine, chain gangs, being drawn and quartered, all aggressively punished the body, as it was representative of the self. As he writes *Discipline and Punish* in the mid-twentieth century, he notes the historical transition towards psychological discipline. Rather than capital punishment, prisoners and detainees are now housed by the state, and acutely aware of their constant surveillance. No longer confrontationally enforcing order, the panopticon successfully induces agreement and compliance. An additional characteristic of this historical shift is the use of spectacle; prior forms of brutal mid- and pre-nineteenth century punishment were often carried out in the town square, in front of the public. Foucault argues that there has been a privatization of discipline as it is removed from public view, and cached inside an insidious architectural mass.

Although privatization as used above is intended to denote the transition of punishment’s spatiality from public to private, Foucault’s theory parallels economic theories of privatization as well. As capitalism eclipsed other economic models in the second half of

⁸ See Appendix A for panoptic design

the twentieth century (*Discipline and Punish* published in 1975), Foucault explicates the spiritual rather than physical discipline with a neoclassical understanding of efficiency and productivity. A clearly capitalist iteration of efficiency is what governs the objectives of perfect discipline: “obtain the exercise of power at the lowest possible cost...., bring the effects of this social power to their maximum intensity and to extend them as far a possible..., like this economic growth of power with the output of the apparatuses within which it is exercised” (Foucault, 218). Not only is the panopticon itself perfectly rational and efficient, maximizing the field of surveillance while minimizing the manpower necessary to survey, but also in leaving bodies as productive and able to generate capital - - prison labor for example is a clear bi-product of Foucauldian panopticism. No longer sacrificed, as such a disciplinary practice is wasteful, bodies are preserved so long as they are docile and obedient.

Wilson and Kelling, Broken Windows, 1982

Kelling & Wilson distinguish themselves from Jacobs and Foucault in their explicit agenda as criminologists studying police behavior. In a famous “Atlantic Monthly” article entitled *Broken Windows: Police and Neighborhood Safety* published in 1982, the duo argued for increasing police presence in the form of foot patrols. Their paper gains much of its evidence from a study conducted in New Jersey, requiring local police officers of 20 precincts to spend more time out of their vehicles walking beats. Surprisingly, the study found that residents felt safer and believed that crime had decreased in neighborhoods where police had been present on foot, despite the lack of real change in levels of violence. Furthermore, the study showed that residents and officers both had more favorable opinions of each other in neighborhoods that required foot patrols. It is with this information, that the two criminologists make their claims and construct the theory of Broken Windows.

The primary component of their theory, supported by the New Jersey study, is the role that urban decay and disorder play in perceptions of crime. The increased presence of police,

wandering the streets and presumably preventing small infractions such as aggressive panhandling or drunk and disorderly conduct, increases feelings of safety and comfort. According to the study, we can determine that the presence of police has led to these perceptions, not an actual change in criminal behavior: “Based on its analysis of a carefully controlled experiment carried out chiefly in Newark, the foundation concluded, to the surprise of hardly anyone, that foot patrol had not reduced crime rates. But residents of the foot patrolled neighborhoods seemed to feel more secure than persons in other areas, and tended to believe that crime had been reduced” (Wilson and Kelling). Complimenting Jacobs’ understanding of the necessity of locals in her secure utopian sidewalks, Broken Windows asserts that police were able to develop relationships with residents and establish norms of what is and is not acceptable behavior, often contradicting official codes of law. For example, although drinking in public is illegal, locals knew that it was tolerated as long as a brown paper bag concealed the alcohol. Thus as was ultimately the case with Jacobs, the intimacies and acquaintances of urban life, characteristics that are contrary to the essence of cosmopolitan mingling and strangers, are what constructs perceptions and realities of safety.

There is a second important- and more widely disputed layer of their theory, a principle that has been adapted by police forces and their supporters. The theory of Broken Windows claims, with little supported evidence, that stifling such small disorder also prevents larger violent crimes. The authors aptly acknowledge this assertion as an urban legend, supporting the sentiments of a neighborhood resident weary of local crime: “he is also giving voice to a bit of folk wisdom that happens to be a correct generalization—namely, that serious street crime flourishes in areas in which disorderly behavior goes unchecked” (Wilson & Kelling). This logical jump, from feelings of safety and security thanks to visible police, to petty disorder leading to violence, is perhaps even contradicted by their evidence. In the case of Newark for example, violent crime statistics may have actually increased, although

perceptions of crime decreased. It is this unsupported claim, that small infractions lead to detrimental violent crime, which has led to Broken Windows' prominence.

Why then, consider a theory with potential structural failures? The Broken Windows theory has been adopted by the NYPD as an essential strategy for neighborhood policing. As was revealed through several of the interviews I conducted in the four precincts of study, officers continually reiterate the importance of deterring small crime, and one even directly addressed the Broken Windows theory as one of his fundamental beliefs. In contrast with the theories of Foucault and Jacobs, Wilson & Kelling directly identify the state as the primary agent of control and surveillance, rather than informal community policing, architecture, or moral suasion. Their text is predicated on the assumption that police, as representatives of state power, are the enforcers and deterrents of criminal behavior; surveillance is synonymous with formal government policing. Although it is more challenging to interpret neighborhood planning and architecture through the Broken Windows paradigm, it is relevant for our purposes in examining urban decay and disorder. According to the theory, spaces with more graffiti, panhandlers, Broken Windows, homeless youth and littered sidewalks will have more violent crime, and should therefore be subject to greater levels of policing. Thus in contrast with our two other theorists, Wilson & Kelling provide a detailed and explicit analysis of effective policing strategies, presuming that it is these state bodies who are most capable of enforcing order.

Visibility is the crux of all three theories, propelling and constructing each interpretation of surveillance and safety. Foucault presents visibility in two capacities, the first being the ancient spectacle of discipline, as compared to surveillance. Contested by some contemporary theorists, Foucault persuasively claims that the prior public display of punishment has become invisible in his newly defined state of panopticism; yet Wilson & Kelling's hypothesis slyly contradicts Foucault, in supporting the increased visibility of police

officers as a catalyst for safety. Understanding Foucauldian power and discipline as police action, other theorists argue for a modification of Foucault, evidenced by an increasingly militarized and aggressive police presence: “The point is that ritualized displays of terror are built into American policing. Spectacle is a fundamental part of how the state controls poor people... If violent theatrics help insinuate the power of the state into everyday life of the ghetto, then Michel Foucault’s thesis seems in need of revision” (Parenti 135). Sociologist Christian Parenti in his exploratory study of mass incarceration and the modern police state, emphasizes the necessity of visible displays of authority and power. Similarly, geographer Steve Herbert studying the Los Angeles Police Department, identifies “adventure and machismo” as one of six guiding principals of policing, a strategy that compels officers to perform their duties in asserting masculinity for an audience of peers or citizens. Both Foucault’s proclamation of the newly invisible form of discipline, and contesting arguments of visibly performed policing, will soon be addressed by our neighborhood observations.

As Foucault highlights the invisibility of power, Wilson & Kelling support its flagrant display, all of the texts rely on the visibility of the surveyed. One must be aware that he or she is continuously under surveillance. Although Jacobs’ account is presented as democratic and utopian, she nonetheless encourages architecture and planning openly oriented toward the street to ensure its surveillance. Safety is ensured by designing cities that increase the visibility of strangers, making them susceptible to the monitoring and control of local neighborhood heroes. Broken Windows similarly asserts that the presence of police officers enforcing order, assuaging fears and asserting that “someone cares” is the key to deterring crime; officers on foot are more present which in turn makes criminals more subject to view. Foucault most explicitly states that this awareness of surveillance is the key to social control and subtle deployment of power. The heightened awareness of being watched coerces agreement, which again consequently provides conformity with social norms, which in turn

results in safety. Disregarding those responsible for conducting the surveillance, this form of discipline successfully produces the desired behavior by occupying the consciousness of urban strangers through varying forms of watching and censorship.

Surveillance is critically public in each account, defining, limiting, and designing place for strangers to see and be seen. Jacobs most evidently addresses this necessity: “There must be a clear demarcation between what is public space and what is private space,” so that city users may effectively use and manipulate said area (Jacobs, 35). She critiques suburbs and their tendency to meld public and private, noting again the limits of the city as a constellation of anonymity, unable to blend private and public lives of strangers. Effectively allocating public space, so that strangers may together make use of the city, thus provides more eyes upon the street. According to the Broken Windows theory, physical urban space is subject to scrutiny, as dilapidated imperfections (such as a broken window) lead to crime and violence. Public space then is not only relevant as a site from which to conduct surveillance, but as itself a victim of watchful scrutiny. As he designates the spectacle of discipline as outdated, Foucault rejects public surveillance and isolates delinquency to hidden private spaces. But so long as we interpret the panopticon outside of its original architectural confines, and instead embrace its omnipresence, the system of constant surveillance naturally flourishes on city streets. The architecture Jacobs promotes is indeed an iteration of this panoptic surveillance. All three shed light on the usage of public streets in the four neighborhoods of study, often overlapping and intertwining as they describe the obligatory, informal, and varying intensities of surveillance.

Capitalism weaves itself into each theory, representing a final communal and applicable thread between the triad. Foucault and Wilson & Kelling are concerned with rational and efficient application of scarce resources. The panopticon achieves efficiency by industrializing surveillance, maximizing control and minimizing required labor. Wilson &

Kelling address the importance of promoting beat patrols as a preventative measure, maximizing safety and again minimizing manpower: “Therefore, each department must assign its existing officers with great care... the key is to identify neighborhoods at the tipping point—where a window is likely to be broken at any time, and must quickly be fixed if all are not to be shattered” (Wilson & Kelling). If and when surveillance is implemented in accordance with capitalist models of efficient resource allocation, social control and safety result. Jacobs’ eyes upon the street also profits from capital, requiring locals with capital investments to thwart off strangers. She continually reiterates the important task of shopkeepers and proprietors in securing order; their economic investment ensures maintenance of neighborhood dignity. While the panopticon and Broken Windows both employ capitalist rhetoric by validating the importance of efficiency, Jacobs distinguishes herself in assigning capital the role of the state, the one that is able to protect and serve. Nonetheless, all three can be examined as products of a rising capitalist and consumer state of the late twentieth century, one that persists and pervades Brooklyn’s neighborhoods.

Jacobs, Foucault, Wilson & Kelling all seek a similar end through varied means, safety and control. While some techniques appear more democratic, dictatorial, or vindictive, each induces accordance with law through methods of surveillance. In the following chapters, we will examine and further enlighten the relevance of each in its application to Williamsburg, Red Hook, Downtown Brooklyn and Crown Heights as well as the central roles that visibility, public space, and capitalism play in policing strategies.

Chapter 3: Williamsburg, Greenpoint, and the 94TH Precinct

The 94th Precinct is a mix of residential, commercial and industrial establishments with a number of oil and natural gas facilities. The commercial areas are on four major strips - Manhattan Ave., Graham Ave., Bedford Ave. and Nassau Ave. One of the Houses of Worship located in this command, "St. Stanislaus Kostka" located at 607 Humboldt St., enjoys the distinction of having been visited by Pope John Paul II in the mid 1970's, when he was the Cardinal for Krakow, Poland. The street in front of the church was renamed in his honor. The church has also been visited by Polish Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa.⁹



In addition to its clear demarcation as an epicenter of polish heritage and culture, Williamsburg is simultaneously celebrated as the hipster capital of the country. These claims are substantiated by the local restaurants and commercial businesses, selling \$10 handcrafted chocolate bars, vintage clothing and records, imported polish sweets, and antique knick-knacks. As aptly identified by the NYPD, in what's likely to be an outdated description, Manhattan, Graham, Bedford and Nassau Avenues, along with Metropolitan, Franklin, N6th, N7th, and N8th are all littered with shops, bars, and restaurants catering to an artistic and

⁹ Cited from the NYPD. http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/precincts/precinct_094.shtml

young clientele. While the edges of the precinct are adorned with several industrial plants, there are few large employers in the area. Service jobs in the bustling Williamsburg and Greenpoint scenes are staffed by those similarly attractive and creative youth likely to patronize the establishments. While the western edges of Greenpoint maintain pockets of polish density, it's clear that the precinct has made an overall homogenizing turn, navigated by the liberal, creative class.

Old tenement buildings, rarely exceeding five stories in height, enclose the prominent arterials and paths of Williamsburg and Greenpoint. Scaffolding often adorns the exterior, while white molding encompass pairs of well-aligned windows filling each floor. Excluding McGuinness Boulevard and industrial sectors to the north and east, all roads are one or two lane, with parking spaces lining each curb. Sidewalks extended from every curb carrying the heavy pedestrian traffic that cycles through the neighborhood. A series of less than a dozen new high-rise condominiums of glass and steel contrast with the prior, relatively monotonous, skyline. The Bedford Avenue station of the L train at North 7th Street marks the hub of the neighborhood, where dozens of road bikes pile up alongside the rails, aspiring trendy Manhattanites arrive from 14th Street, and all of the starving artists who can no longer afford Bedford Avenue rent prices arrive from Bushwick to the east. Few traces remain in the 94th precinct of what was once a heavily Puerto Rican and Italian slum.

Demographic Statistics

The prevalence of such a young privileged group is reflected in the neighborhood's statistical demographics. The precinct area of study encompasses three zip codes, thus three sets of census data, all with consistent information¹⁰. The entirety of the 11222 zip code exists within the precinct, thus it will be our primary reference. A population of near 40,000 lives north and east of McCarren Park, the area that was once home to predominantly polish

¹⁰ See appendix B for neighborhood zip code map

immigrants. Today 83.5% of Greenpoint's residents identify as white, a figure that can plausibly reflect this polish population. However the neighborhood sees a marginal elderly population; with no more than 10% of its residents over the age of 65 there are likely few intergenerational polish families still in the neighborhood. Conversely 32.3% of residents are between the ages of 25 and 34 suggesting a new incoming young, white population, further supported by the 58.8% of residents living in non-familial households.

Census data for the two neighboring zip codes, both of which extend south beyond the 94th precinct, are consistent with age and family related statistics. The populations of the 11211 and 11249 add approximately 13,000 residents to the precinct, for an estimated total of 53,000. The most surprising contrast is the 26% of residents that identify as Hispanic or Latino in the 11211 zone, compared to 15.4% in 11222. While the later and lesser Greenpoint figure may be largely accounted for in the residents of the Cooper Park Homes, a New York City public housing development, the minority-identifying residents of 11221 are likely the remnants what once was a Latino slum, pushed to the Southern corners that lay beyond the 94th precinct. Finally, as a potential indicator for wealth, real estate in the neighborhood sells at an average of \$739 per square foot in Williamsburg, compared to \$631 in Greenpoint (NYmag).

Research Findings

In five one-hour sessions of observation a total of eight patrolling police vehicles were spotted in the precinct, in addition to two stationary vehicles blocking traffic at the site of an accident; I did not find any officers walking beats or on foot patrol. The following map is



marked with each sighted police vehicle. The colored lines indicate paths walked during observations. Below are selected, relevant field notes¹¹:

- One NYPD van with two officers in the front seat heads north on Franklin Ave at Meserole. 9:45pm, October 21st.
- One squad car with one white middle aged male driving, circles McCarren Park. 10:10pm, October 21st.
- One man in his 30s, wearing jeans, a black sweater carrying a messenger bag, hiccups, slides down wall and collapses as a beer bottle rolls out of his hand. Driggs between N 10th and N 9th. 10:15pm, October 21st.
- Puerto Rican book vendor, male, around 40 years old, former police officer, waves, smiles and acknowledges many of the people passing by on a first name basis. He says

¹¹ Exhaustive field notes are listed in Appendix E-1.

cops rarely stop him, or ask for tax documentation, etc. in this neighborhood. Bedford Avenue between N6th and N7th. 7:30pm, November 5th.

- NYPD squad car with one middle aged white male inside parks. Another white male in his 30s approaches the car, then lingers near the car on his cell phone. Eventually the man hangs up, resumes conversation with the officer, and they both part ways.

Bedford Ave and N6th, 7:40pm, November 5th.

- One squad car with two younger white male officers slowly drives west on Frost St. 8:45pm, November 19th.

- Two white women, mid twenties, walk drinking openly out of 40oz beer bottles.

Driggs between Manhattan and Lorimer. 9:05pm, November 19th.

Relative to the other neighborhoods of study, Williamsburg had the fewest cited vehicles.

With the exception of the squad car seen driving below the speed limit on Frost St, all cars appeared to be driving at a pace corresponding to the speed of traffic. Some, such as the officer circling the park (another was spotted making the same route on 11/19) seem to be actively patrolling, driving in circles without a clear purpose or direction. Others, such as the van on Franklin Street (an arterial that is more vacant in the evening, primarily used for cars and trucks with a frequently traversed bicycle lane), or a car spotted turning down Meserole Avenue, are perhaps returning to the precinct located on Meserole between Lorimer and Calyer. Yet the purpose of a cars location can only be speculative; with the observed plurality of locations we can extract several trends. Returning to the major avenues highlighted by the NYPD, three of the sighted vehicles were traversing one of those avenues. With the exception of the two cars spotted on Morgan and Frost Avenues (to which we will soon return), all vehicles were surrounding areas of commerce and consumption, monitoring the neighborhood's concupiscent nightlife. It can be deduced that according to observations, during weekend evenings, NYPD vehicles largely followed the crowd, patrolled streets and corners of Williamsburg that were most likely to be filled with noisy bars, late night dining, transit activity, and shopping.

Returning to Jane Jacobs' emphasis on the necessity of eyes upon the street, why would officers be most present along avenues wherein well-to-do young people flood the streets from the early evening until 3am or 4am as bars and restaurants slowly begin to lock their doors? Two squad cars traced the perimeter of McCarren Park, a flat sprawl of dirt with few trees and an accessible visual field. Thanks to its late closing time and illuminating floodlights, the park serves as a space for late night ambling, kick ball games, socializing, and drinking. Bars and restaurants, open during evening's hours, typically have large glass doors, making the street visible to the interior and thus the employees and patrons. Hefty men operating as security guards often stand guarding the doors nightly, optimizing the Jacobsian function of a watchful defender, due to both their neighborhood familiarity and constant gaze oriented toward the street. As if that weren't enough, many bodegas and small grocery stores position their cashiers against the window in an effort to deter theft and crime, most of which are present 24/7 servicing drunk youth, morning commuters, mothers running errands, or local employees. In critical decisions regarding resource allocation, locating patrols in spaces heavily trafficked and self-monitored seems foolish and contradictory to Jacobs' thesis. However, the accessibility and visibility of police officers is essential to developing positive police/citizen relations, as proved by Wilson & Kelling's cited Newark study. Bearing in mind the comparatively low frequency at which cars were spotted, it's challenging to critique the NYPD for a moderate presence in a well lit, and well attended area.

Much of the western edge of the district, paralleling the waterfront, offers blank industrial walls and grates, which welcome graffiti from local and internationally acclaimed artists. Though sporadic tags can be found on doorsteps and mailboxes covering the entire neighborhood, west of Bedford Avenue extending north through Greenpoint's Industrial Business Zone artful pieces and throw-ups are commonplace. Some are likely solicited artwork by local business patrons (for example Angel's Bakery on Normand Ave and Clifford

Pl), while others are clearly yearlong accumulations of turf wars and tagging. Yet despite these signs of decay, only one NYPD vehicle was spotted in this area. As observed in the field notes above, many city users of the 94th precinct behave nothing short of drunk and disorderly. A total of four open containers were sighted during the observation periods, as were two evidently intoxicated men. These signs of urban grit should symbolize the neighborhood's vulnerability and rising crime, according to Wilson & Kelling. Decay and disorder prevail, yet conversely to being criminalized, they are celebrated by blogs, news, and even the interviewed officer, for giving the trendy district a sense of authentic urban grit.

Again, the majority of the NYPD presence was spotted along major paths and arterials, places of sociability. Contrasting this general pattern are the two cars spotted on Frost Street and Morgan Avenue, a space with few commercial attractions. What isolates this instance even further, is the speed at which the car spotted heading west on Frost Street was patrolling, moving 10mph slower than other street traffic. This pace makes it appear that the car was more engaged in its patrolling activities, actively examining and scrutinizing the surrounding streets. Of critical importance is what greets the streets enclosing this squad car: the Cooper Park Houses. A housing project of over 1,700 residents, with 11 classically constructed seven story homes of brick, dating from the 1970s' building boom of efficient and identical Corbusian towers. Despite the lack of commercial or social activity in the area, the few blocks surrounding the towers were disproportionately policed compared to the neighborhood's aggregate data, representing two out of eight sighted patrol cars. Heavy surveillance in these blocks may be justified by Jacobs' principles due to the lack of capital investment. Often transient residents, those who inhabit housing projects have little monetary commitment in the neighborhood, thus little incentive to maintain its safety and order and consequently subject to increased police presence. Simultaneously, the residents' lack of

social capital and political efficacy make them vulnerable targets for poor or aggressive police practices, typified in an interaction witnessed in the 76th precinct.

NYPD Interview

I had the privilege of speaking with one of the highest-ranking officers in the 94th precinct; he proudly boasted about the neighborhood's lack of violence and disorder, as one of the "top ten" precincts for low crime statistics, and is consequently one of the lowest staffed. When asked what he thinks contributes to such low numbers, he responded: "it's the type of neighborhood, mostly residential". Such a response hardly suffices to explain the low crime rates. Crown Heights, our final neighborhood of analysis, sees the most frequent and violent crime of all four studied communities and is arguably much more "residential" than Williamsburg. When the same officer was asked to describe the community, its residents and its patrons, he stated, "It's predominately white, I don't know what percent but you can check with the census." Furthermore, he celebrated the neighborhood's nightlife and bar scene, identifying it as one of the reasons he enjoys working in the precinct. It's difficult to accept the explanation that the neighborhood has shockingly low crime stats because it is "more residential," rather the young, artistic, white, often college educated residents themselves fail to fit the typical criminal profile, adding to notions of safety.

Crime and Arrest Statistics

The neighborhood's crime and arrest statistics indeed do reflect this prided sense of safety and security. When it comes to the seven felonies rigorously tracked by the NYPD, Williamsburg appears comparatively crime free¹². Reported and recorded in 2010, there was only one murder, three rapes, 125 robberies, 92 felony assaults, and 157 burglaries. And these numbers have been steadily decreasing since 1990. Grand larceny however, has increased greatly since 1995, with a total of 317 in 2011, compared to 173 in 2001. The interviewee

¹² see Appendix H for compared tables of felony statistics

identified the rise in grand larceny as the largest problem in the precinct, with consistent vehicle theft and break-ins along Kent, Franklin, Berry, and Wythe, interestingly the same industrial, underdeveloped edges of the precinct where much of the graffiti is present, yet few officers were spotted. Theft of wallets and credit cards also accounts for this recent dramatic rise in Grand Larceny, mirrored by the rise in bar and club culture over the last decade.

Although these numbers are indeed reflections of safety and neighborhood violence, our primary concern is not with violent felonies, but rather with misdemeanors that impact the quality of life for city users, those that trickle into the public spaces of city streets, parks, and even local businesses. Of all 685 misdemeanor arrests in 2010, 45% of those arrested are ultimately convicted and sentenced. Thus although the total number of arrests has remained a relatively consistent number, fluctuating between 700 and 530 from 2006 to 2010, the percentage of those arrested and actually found guilty has decreased; in other words, more innocent people are being arrested in the 94th precinct. Approximately 20% of all those convicted are sentenced to jail time (thus 9% of all misdemeanor arrests). Contradictorily, as reported major felonies and misdemeanor convictions have been decreasing over recent decades, arrests have remained at constant rates, and sentences to jail time have increased. Thus fewer people are being charged, but the same numbers are being arrested, and while offenses are seemingly less serious, there are more punitive sentences. Although with simple reasoning these phenomena seem incompatible, they are supported by Wilson & Kelling's hypothesis. In adopting the Broken Window's theory, the NYPD finds justification for increased arrests, regardless of guilt, innocence, or seriousness of infraction. Setting a proactive example against urban disorder is critical to the prevention of broken windows and ultimately a neighborhood's decline:

Arresting a single drunk or a single vagrant who has harmed no identifiable person seems unjust, and in a sense it is. But failing to do anything about a score of drunks or a hundred vagrants may destroy an entire community. A particular rule that seems to

make sense in the individual case makes no sense when it is made a universal rule and applied to all cases. It makes no sense because it fails to take into account the connection between one broken window left untended and a thousand broken windows (Wilson & Kelling).

Sweeping arrests for minor infractions, or even suspicious activity later deemed innocent, allows for the maintenance of surveillance; the meaning behind such arrests is to inform potential criminals that there are consequences, and to reassure local law-abiding residents that criminal concerns are addressed with severity. Foucault thus inserts himself into the theory of Broken Windows and its practice in the precinct; despite decreasing levels of serious crime the NYPD asserts its dominance and capacity to exert power through continued levels of arrests, embodying panoptic surveillance. While this trend is indeed present in the 94th, it is much more prevalent in diverse, low-income neighborhoods that we will soon examine.

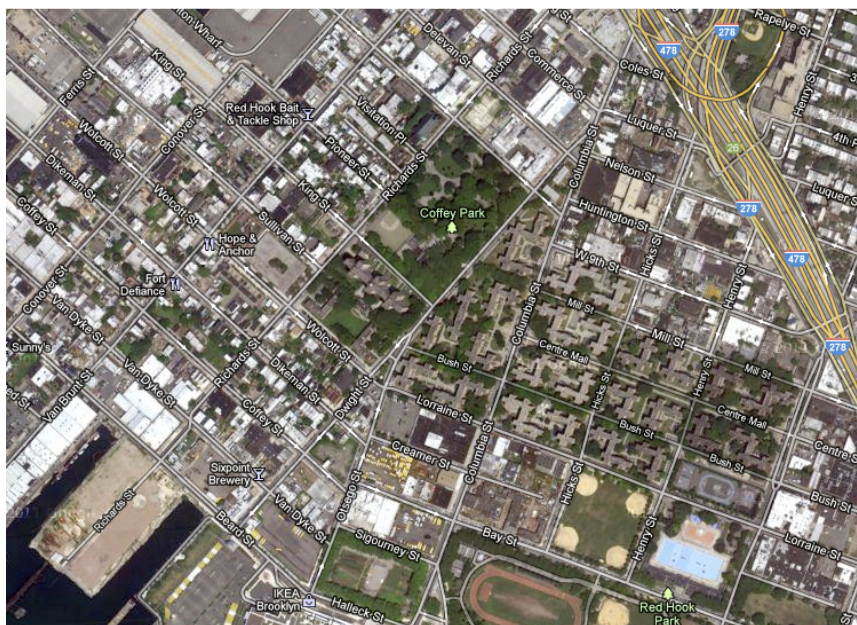
Conclusions

In front of Oasis Falafel, a neighborhood favorite directly outside of the Bedford Avenue Subway Stop, hangs a NYPD sign: *Don't let a loss ruin your night, let's keep our neighborhood crime free*. According to owners of the establishment, the NYPD passed out posters to those businesses in the area willing to accept them. The interviewed officer verified that education and awareness, through signs such as these, are a major part of combating neighborhood crime. The language of this sign in particular, located in this precinct is telling, symbolic of Jacobsian surveillance. Rather than an aggressive voice of authority, the sign encourages inclusivity and communal protection with words like *our neighborhood*, and a concerned paternal tone regarding lost and stolen property. *Protect and Serve*, the motto of the NYPD, is present in this poster providing honorable service to their clients, that is ensuring safety and security of city users. Williamsburg and Greenpoint's policing strategy embodies this policy, often with patrol emphasis on heavily trafficked areas, and availability

to residents and guests as exhibited in the aforementioned November observation of a man leaning in and chatting with an officer. Although the presence of police officers proves friendly amidst the patrons of the 94th's businesses, there was little emphasis or formal surveillance on the vacant streets of the industrial business zone, an area identified as vulnerable to graffiti and car theft, and a space lacking necessary eyes on the street that would ensure safe self-policing. Furthermore the Cooper Park Houses were susceptible to more surveillance than other spaces, although the interviewed officer did not identify the area as particularly vulnerable to crime. Rather, in support of the hypothesis of this study, the Cooper Park Houses are more heavily policed because their residents don't fit the profile of the majority of urban dwellers in this "more residential" neighborhood due to their socioeconomic and racial profile. Residents of housing projects are viewed by the NYPD as those who cause broken windows, and in some instances that we will soon explore, they *are* these broken windows, representing the threat of urban decay and decline.

Chapter 4: Red Hook and the 76th precinct

The 76th Precinct is located in Brooklyn South and covers a vast waterfront area. A large volume of trucking and shipping services frequent the pier area during daytime hours. Other types of industries located in the command and related to pier operations are manufacturing, warehouses, and shipping. There are many small retail business establishments and most are located along Atlantic Avenue, Court Street and Smith Street. The Red Hook Recreational Area located along Bay Street consists of 58 acres of playing fields and the Red Hook Pool. The religious population of the command consists of the Catholic faith, Jewish, Muslim and Protestant. There are large residential areas within the confines of the 76th Precinct consisting of one, two and three family homes.¹³



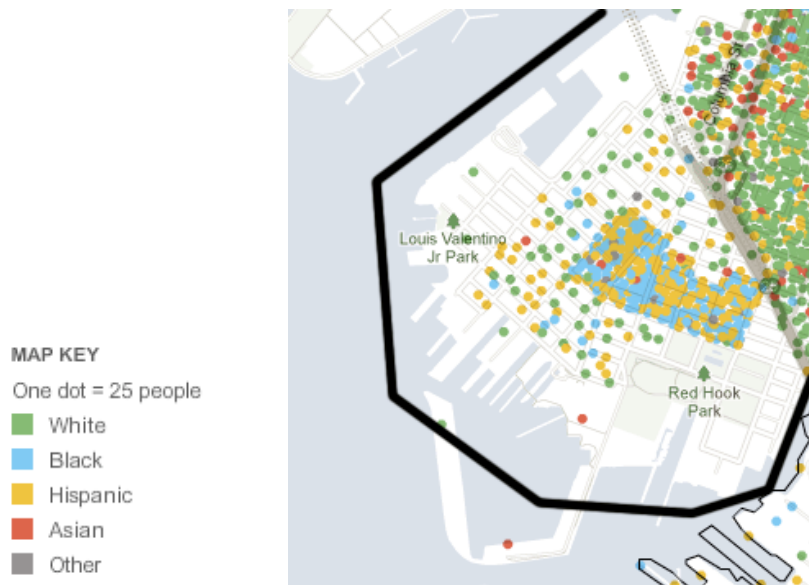
Red Hook has perhaps seen the most dramatic changes in recent decades. Crime and demographic statistics from as recent as 2000 represent a community still recovering from the violence of the twentieth century, when Red Hook became infamous as a prime location for body dumping and gang wars. The importation of Ikea in 2008 solidified the neighborhood's so called progress, now home to a handful of charming commercial restaurants, artist studios, specialty wine shops, and vintage boutiques. The rising success of this local community has been consistently thwarted by its minimal access, and many locals hope to keep it that way (according to the interviewed NYPD officer). With no subway stop inside the neighborhood's very defined limits, one may access Red Hook via MTA's B61 bus, making regular stops in front of Ikea's doors. Additionally, Ikea runs a water taxi from southern Manhattan and

¹³ Cited from the NYPD. http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/precincts/precinct_076.shtml

Downtown Brooklyn, which now charges a \$5 fee on weekdays, perhaps in an attempt to impede the free rider problem. Living in isolation from much of the hustle and bustle of New York life, accompanied by such distinct neighborhood boundaries, Red Hook captures the charm of a small town, within the most cosmopolitan city in America.

Bounded on three sides by water, Red Hook has privileged access to ports for shipping and receiving. With the Gowanus Bay and Gowanus Inlet to the south and east, and the beginnings of the east river limiting the neighborhood to the west, urban planning intervenes decapitating the neighborhood with the cement blockade of Highways 278 and 478. The Brooklyn Queens Expressway and Brooklyn Battery Tunnel that converge for a brief ¼ mile to the neighborhood's north before pursuing their respective routes. Further contributing to the isolation of Red Hook, is the limited number of paths that penetrate this infallible concrete roadway; it can only be traversed on foot (as I learned the hard way) via Van Brunt Street to the west, and Court or Smith Street to the east. Many of the local roadways, as identified by the NYPD, are equipped to handle large commercial truck traffic, leading to and from industrial warehouses along the piers, as well as Ikea and Fairway Market. Van Brunt Street has now become a pedestrian destination, yet was and continues to be a truck route that pollutes the charming sidewalks with noise and fumes.

As can be seen from the colored map below, the location of residents is highly concentrated in the center of the neighborhood, with very few residents along any of the bordering waters. Consequent of the serious industrial interests of the neighborhood, piers and warehouses are vacant at night, leaving nothing but fences of barbed wire and metal gates to greet a wanderer that dares venture into the dimly lit, uninhabited streets. In my own marginal experiences, time spent on the outskirts of the community were uncomfortable to



say the least; I often found myself jumping anxiously at the sound of wind clattering the many industrial gates. Lacking the ever important mixed-use celebrated by Jacobs, the perimeter of the neighborhood is regularly empty, unwatched, and vulnerable to crime (and was thus the common sight of body dumping in the 80s and 90s). As the above image estimates population with data from 2005, it's critical to maintain awareness of the very recent changes undergone as a result of Ikea's move in 2008, and subsequent increases in population to likely be represented by a handful of green dots splattered along the western edge.

This newly artistic neighborhood has one extreme particularity; it is the sight of Brooklyn's largest development of public housing projects, with approximately 8,000 inhabitants residing in the Red Hook Homes. Completed in 1939, these homes resemble the classic Corbusian brick towers, constructed with four perpendicular branches. The housing projects occupy such a dominant proportion of the neighborhood, that they are easily identified from an aerial view (see page 39). Referencing again the population map, the dense concentration of blue and yellow dominating the neighborhood's populace, is the site of the homes. Other residencies range from new short story condominiums, to lofts, to classic brick and vinyl paneled walk-ups. Those moving into the neighborhood are often young artistic

types, or those with few commuter obligations that would require them to move daily to and from Manhattan. A large Black and Latino population, many of who have called the Red Hook Houses home for generations, represent long time residents.

This demographic divide is replicated in similarly dichotomous local stores. Van Brunt Street is currently the exclusive avenue littered with shops catered to the incoming hip crowd, and/or visitors drawn to Ikea and Fairway Market, which presides over the southern tip of Van Brunt. The street was groomed for growth as it is the primary avenue of the B61's route, the only public transit access into and out of the neighborhood. Richards Street symbolizes the great divide, functioning as the infamous geographic barrier between the good part of town and the proverbial other side of the tracks. While the majority of Red Hook's population resides in this eastern half, the commercial options are fewer, more homogenous, and limited in nutritional value. Unlike the intimate restaurants on Van Brunt Street, the streets surrounding the Red Hook homes offer dining options limited to pizzas, delis, fried chicken and Chinese take out. Opposed to the luxurious Fairway market, attracting a geographically diverse range of Brooklynites, residents of the housing projects are closer to the lackluster C-TOWN super mart. Also in contrast to the charming, Jacobsonian community found on Van Brunt street, lined with trees, sidewalks, and holiday lights through February, the shops of the eastern half are located in three to four unit strip malls, often guarded behind a dozen car parking lot, facing into the Red Hook Homes, poorly integrating residential and commercial space.

Red Hook is certainly the most insular and well defined of all the neighborhoods of this study; it has few permeable borders through which outsiders and their interests may trickle in. Its residents are often defined by one of the two categories above, and its visitors are regularly in pursuit of Ikea, Fairway or Van Brunt's commercial offerings. Yet despite the evident distinction of Red Hook, it represents a mere half of the 76th precinct. Extending

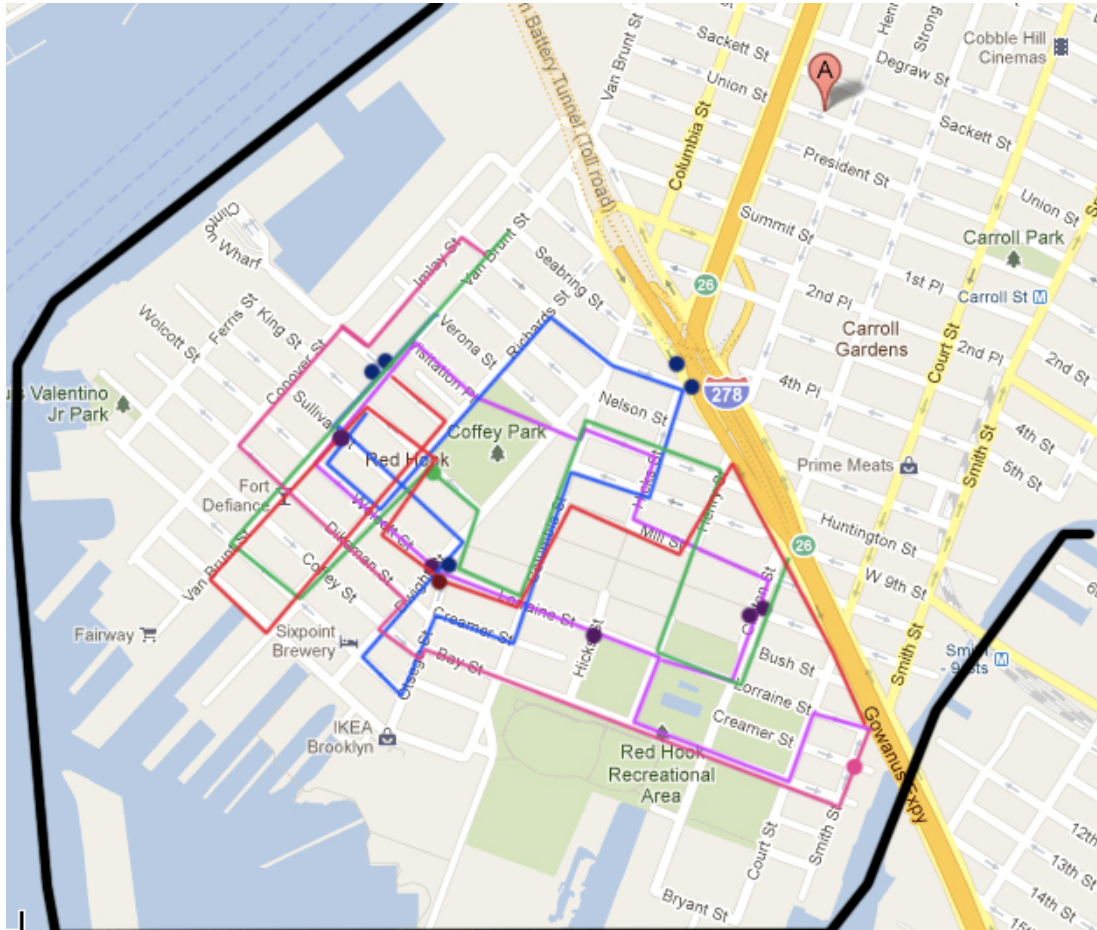
onward north, its purview includes Carroll Gardens and Cobble Hill, the classic pre-war Brooklyn, wealthy, brownstone communities that have long been celebrated for their charms. Not only does the precinct include this large heterogeneous grouping, but the 11321 zip code as well. Thus the government's artificially constructed divisions fail to account for the geographic and demographic distinction between populations; yet what's more troubling for our purposes than this simple neglect, is the lack of specific data. Arrest numbers, crime statistics, and census data all include a more generous, wealthier space than Red Hook tainting statistical records. Not one community organization, the Community Board, courthouse, NYPD, or otherwise were willing to provide estimates of demographic breakdowns.

According to calculations from the 2005 demographics map (see page 41), we can estimate that the population of Red Hook was approximately 11,000 at the 2005 census, which would be one third of the entire precinct's (or zip code's) population. Approximately 13% of this estimated Red Hook population identifies as white, 36% as Black, and 47% as Hispanic¹⁴. In the greater zip code encompassing Carroll Gardens and Cobble Hill, there is an even split between family and non-family households, a trend I would speculate is consistent on both sides of the cement blockade. Average price of real estate in Red Hook is \$411 per square foot (compared to \$671 in Carroll Gardens), the lowest rate of all our neighborhoods of study.

Research Findings

¹⁴ Previous to the 2010 census, Hispanic was a racial category. In our data for other neighborhoods using the 2010 census, there is no option for Hispanic under race, rather a separate question asking for those that identify as Hispanic or Latino.

Observations in Red Hook occurred over five sessions between November 4th and March 30th. A total of 13 patrol cars were sighted, along with two parked vehicles; no officers were sighted on foot. Below are selected field notes:



- *Flashing blue and red lights spotted at Lorraine and Henry Street. Four young men (under 25, not white) have their hands on an undercover squad car. An officer is standing with them while another searches a black Cadillac sedan; there is another squad car in front of the boys' Cadillac. They realize I'm observing the scene and start to shout to me "Miss write this down! We're being harassed!" Ultimately they were yelling similar things to passersby, laughing and smiling with familiarity. After five minutes the officers let them go, everyone drove off. There were around 10 people who had gathered to observe the scene, filling each other in on what they observed. November 4th, 7:30pm.*

- 1 squad car down Dwight St rolls slowly through a crowd of young kids (ages 10-13) who don't seem threatened or affected by the car's presence. They make little effort to get out of the way. November 4th, 7:40pm. Dwight and Lorraine Sts.
- 2 squad cars parked next to each other illegally on Van Brunt at Pioneer in front of bodega. Chat for 3 minutes and drive off North on Van Brunt. November 11th, 10:00pm.
- 1 squad car sighted with lights on behind Red Hook Homes West off Richards St at King. December 2nd, 9pm.
- An MTA vehicle, deceptively looks like cop car (white with lights on top), pulls out of parking lot in front of Fine Fare/Soverign Bank. Lorraine and Colombia. January 13th, 8:30 pm.
- One squad car heads north on Smith, just following a B61 city bus. March 30th, 9:45pm.

Red Hook surprisingly saw only marginally more officers than its large whiter, wealthier predecessor Williamsburg. However, were we to multiply Red Hook three fold to approach the geographical size and population of Williamsburg, the number of sightings would be spectacular: 39. Most of the vehicles were sighted in and around the Red Hook Homes, while another small handful were present on Van Brunt Street or accessing Hamilton Street, the arterial divide between Red Hook and Carroll Gardens. While little time was spent walking paths of the desolate, vacant industrial centers, no officers were seen amidst, entering or exiting the peripheral warehouses, shops and piers. As was the case with the 94th precinct, officers were found, where pedestrians, loiterers, shoppers, and other city users are more likely to be.

Presenting a similar contradiction to Jacobs as was present in the 94th, I found three of the eleven patrolling police officers on Van Brunt Street, Red Hook's only commercial avenue recently revamped for the purposes of pedestrian use. The western corner of the population map sprinkled with multicolored dots geographically represents this anomaly in Red Hook's present and past neighborhood reputation. Interestingly, the officers seen on Van

Brunt were all in conference, either the pair reviewing documents parked in front of the liquor store, or the two squad cars stalled northbound at Pioneer Street. Thus while these were seemingly patrol cars on duty, they were not actively patrolling or surveying their surroundings, Van Brunt functioned as a safe space of meeting and strategy. Jacobs' theory would rationalize such a choice, celebrating Van Brunt as the only street wherein patrons and shopkeepers are encouraged to stifle disorder through their capital interests, making it a less vulnerable space for pause. Another likely asset of Van Brunt for strategizing officers is its function as a two way arterial, in and out of the neighborhood, one that can direct them back towards the precinct on 191 Union Street. We can hypothesize Van Brunt Street to be a non-threatening space through the behavior of on duty officers found stalling atop its pavement; their attention while on the street was reflected inwards rather than outwards.

Contrasting the commercially successful Van Brunt Street zone are the Red Hook Homes. Interestingly, these housing projects, like many others, most literally embody the essence of eyes upon the street. Small, cramped apartments often result in many residents loitering outdoors, wandering the countless pathways and parks in small groups. Furthermore, this community of 8,000 people densely inhabiting 13 square blocks seem more likely to be inclined to look out for each other's interests. As was exhibited by the incident with four young men and two police officers, a handful of neighbors came to watch the events unfold and were presumably concerned about the safety of the young men. Yet Jacobs directly addresses the inability of subsidized housing projects to responsibly provide their own surveillance dedicating to them four pages of her chapter on sidewalks and safety. In addition to architectural concerns of visibility and logistical concerns of public access, ultimately the residents' lack of capital investment is assumed to result in a lack of meaningful interest in the neighborhood's safety. An extension of this argument, likely adopted by the NYPD, is the strong possibility of dichotomous interests on behalf of project residents and the state. While

small and large business owners alike are encouraged to comply with state regulations in pursuit of profit, low income residents of housing projects may instead be following their conflicting self-interests, accruing money and gains through theft, violence, drug dealing, and any other stereotypical gangster behavior. While I strongly disagree, in making the bold assertion people unanimously aspire to live in safe comfortable neighborhoods, the theoretical premium placed on financial capital pervades urban discourse. Jacobs and Broken Windows would justify a greater presence of patrol cars criss-crossing the streets of the Red Hook Homes, because of a lack of wealthy, capitalist interested, eyes upon the street.

With few squad cars, and limited surveillance technology, it's more challenging to find a concrete, physical iteration of Foucault's panopticon in the southern half of the 76th precinct. This epic amalgamation of brick and cement that construct the housing projects lacks much of the NYPD's omnipresence that we will soon explore in the 84th precinct. While residents of the Red Hook Homes are perhaps continuously subject to state surveillance as tenants of state property, policing behavior relied heavily on visibility, rather than concealment, in Red Hook. As a case example, there is that of the four boys stopped on the evening of November 4th, who were restrained and required to submit physically to the authority of the officers, unable to remove their hands from the state vehicle. The officers, although one had arrived in an undercover car, flashed their red and blue lights, allowing myself and other wanderers to identify and approach the scene from several blocks away. Ultimately, five minutes after I had approached, the boys were let go and not issued any infractions. This incident reflects the spectacle of discipline, from the visible presence of state power, to the restriction of the body. This may seem like an isolated occurrence; yet during a noontime stroll through the neighborhood in late October, another Black man was pulled over by an undercover NYPD vehicle bordering the Red Hook Homes, his car swarmed by three

officers, and let go without ticket or infraction. Such aggressive confrontations were only seen in Red Hook.

Echoing Parenti's earlier critique of Foucault, these performances of state power and dominance fail to negate the existence of spectacle in discipline techniques; rather they support its preeminence in Red Hook's policing strategies. What is perhaps more confusing, is the shift from clandestine surveillance, to spectacle. Both NYPD cars involved in the incidents described above, were undercover. So what begins as panoptic surveillance, state bodies covertly watching the community, evolves into a visible interaction, one that explicitly demonstrates the authority and power of the state, to its subordinate citizens. With such a small, insular community, it's likely that this message is easily disseminated and understood.

This spectacle is again supported by the theory of Broken Windows. The authors assert that while it may be unjust or unfair to punish harshly and publicly for minor infractions, it ensures order and compliance in setting an example. Aptly Wilson & Kelling acknowledge the possibility for this to lead to racial profiling: "We might agree that certain behavior makes one person more undesirable than another but how do we ensure that age or skin color or national origin or harmless mannerisms will not also become the basis for distinguishing the undesirable from the desirable?" (Wilson & Kelling). Both the two drivers and their passengers pulled over by the NYPD were driving luxury vehicles around the periphery of the Red Hook Homes, and were not white. While racial injustice may be a casualty of Broken Windows policing, the flagrant display of power and the assertion that someone is watching and that you may be caught, perhaps decreases crime and disorder.

NYPD Interview

The interviewed officer of the 76th precinct sincerely celebrated the neighborhood's progress. Having staffed the Red Hook precinct in a variety of positions for over 20 years (interestingly his previous assignment was in the 71st, another precinct of study), he has seen

the dramatic transformation from a “gangster’s paradise” to a commercial Ikea play-land. He graciously shared horror stories from the neighborhood’s past regarding the violent murder of a local teacher, washed up bodies found in Gowanus Bay, etc. However, there has been, as is made evident by the statistics, a drastic turn around. Expressing familiarity with the theory of Broken Windows, the officer emphasized the importance of personal contact: “We’re humans too... getting out of the squad car... they see us as problem solvers...” Like Wilson & Kelling, he identifies the visible encounters and accessibility of police officers as a key to safety and success. Yet ironically, there were no officers seen walking beats; those observed interacting with civilians did so in an overtly authoritative exertion of power.

Rather than directing his compliments of the neighborhood’s success toward the exclusive work of the NYPD, the officer recognizes the success of the Red Hook Community Justice Center. Established in 2000, the community court provides services, counseling, and tracking of those in and out of state custody. It offers exceptional services to local residents:

“The goal is to offer a coordinated, rather than piecemeal, approach to people's problems. The Red Hook judge has an array of sanctions and services at his disposal, including community restitution projects, on-site educational workshops and GED classes, drug treatment and mental health counseling—all rigorously monitored to ensure accountability and drive home notions of individual responsibility” (Center for Court Innovation).

The Community Court approach allows for unconventional alternatives to typical and often-cyclical neighborhood concerns. Their approach seeks to facilitate efficacy in their local community members: “The courthouse is the hub for an array of unconventional programs that contribute to reducing fear and improving public trust in government by engaging local residents in *doing justice*” (Center for Court Innovation). Actively combating the aggressive, authoritarian police behavior witnessed in Red Hook, the Community Justice Center engages local residents and seeks to build constructive relationships. And apparently, these efforts have been successful, as their survey data has shown: “Approval ratings of police, prosecutors

and judges have increased three-fold since the Justice Center opened” (Center for Court Innovation). Negative interactions between police and city users in the space of Red Hook, are compensated for by the activism and inclusivity of the community center.

The local integrated court and the interviewed officer express a commitment to resolving community issues rather than pursuing repetitive punitive measures. In a lengthy example, the officer told a story of a local, aspiring DJ. His music blared into the night, eliciting countless noise complaints from his neighbors. Rather than issuing fines, the man and his neighbors went to mediation in hopes of compromise, “We want him to be a good neighbor” shared the officer. Thus, perhaps paradoxically, the officer of the NYPD boasted one of the safest neighborhoods in New York, one that’s made great progress, which he has largely attributed to the cooperative work of outside organizations.

State agencies were unable to provide arrest and crime-stat information specific to Red Hook, excluding the northern half of the 76th precinct. Thus the only data we can view includes is skewed by what are likely very disparate crime trends in this wealthier area. What is clear, from community narratives, aggregate data and conversations with the precinct officer, is that Red Hook specifically has had an enormous decline in violent crime over the past 25 years. Interestingly, the greatest change in crime from the 76th precinct as a whole occurred between ’90 and ’95, before the inception of the Red Hook Community Justice Center; on aggregate felony statistics decreased by 49.7% in this five-year period. Such aggregate trends likely hold for both the Red Hook and Carroll Gardens communities. For example, the precinct saw 666 grand larceny assaults in 1990, and only 38 in 2011 or burglaries decreasing from 735 to 97 in the same period. These trends are so drastic that it’s improbable that they did not occur, on some scale, in both Red Hook and Carroll Gardens.

It is near impossible to hypothesize trends in arrest data, yet we can assume that the presence of the Red Hook Community Justice Center has positively influenced the arrestees’

interaction with the criminal justice system through their multi-faceted approach to crime prevention. Their website boasts: “The Justice Center has reduced the use of jail in misdemeanor cases by 50 percent” (Center for Court Innovation). With low misdemeanor arrest numbers for the entirety of the 76th precinct, only 745 in 2010, and increasingly innovative approaches to punishment, it seems likely that Red Hook’s trajectory up and away from its vehement criminal past will continue on.

Conclusions

There are several notes worth highlighting in an effort to conclude our analysis of Red Hook. It’s a neighborhood that has risen from humble and violent beginnings, yet one that retains a population that not only witnessed this treacherous history, but is often stereotypically implicated in its ascendancy. There are rising interests and largely favored policies by the city government to promote the gentrification and increasing presence of corporate capital, compared to the sometimes-contrasting views of the 8,000 residents of the 70 year-old Red Hook Homes. Further complicating Red Hook’s narrative is its geographic isolation, representing one of the most insular urban communities of the five boroughs. Unexpectedly, in a neighborhood with the largest housing project in the largest borough, we find the some of the safest streets and more limited state surveillance. Yet of the witnessed patrols and encounters, they were characteristically more visible and confrontational than those in other neighborhoods, challenging Foucault’s assertion that the age of discipline as spectacle has come to an end. The confined and detached nature of the community allows this performance of power to be more effective, as it is more easily communicated through the tangling network of community groups, courts, and physically close residents. While racial and classicist bias prevailed in the spatial mapping of officers, our notions of the negative consequences of inequitable policing are challenged by the overwhelmingly positive crime

and arrest statistics. Or perhaps, the equity-oriented goals of the Red Hook Community Justice Center are powerful enough to negate the targeted policing of the NYPD.

Chapter 5: Downtown Brooklyn and The 84th Precinct

The 84th Precinct is situated in the northwestern section of Brooklyn. It is a diverse Precinct with many ethnic and economic strata living and working in close proximity. It is comprised of four distinct residential districts and a varied business community. The Residential areas are: Brooklyn Heights, Boerum Hill, Vinegar Hill and the Farragut Residences.

The Downtown Brooklyn Business district encompasses the Fulton St. Mall, Atlantic Ave., Antique & Middle Eastern strip, Court Street's Lawyers Row, Montague St. restaurants and upscale shops, MetroTech's financial and utility district, as well as the commercial factories and artists lofts of mixed use, Vinegar Hill. The 84 Precinct is the seat of local Government as well. The Brooklyn Borough Hall, the Municipal Bldg., the Brooklyn House of Detention, NYC Fire Dept. H.Q., the Board of Ed H.Q., Transit Authority H.Q., NYPD "911" Bldg., and the Transit Museum are all within its confines.

*The 84th Precinct also plays host to the Court system. The Federal, State Supreme, Criminal, Civil, Bankruptcy and Family Court are within its boundaries. Additionally, each day a prime conduit for thousands of people commuting to and from Manhattan via the major arterial highways, subway and local roadways is through the 84th Precinct. The focal point of the surface commute is the East River bridges: The Brooklyn Bridge and the Manhattan Bridge. The 84th Precinct is an exciting composite of all the elements noted above. It is a wonderful community to serve.*¹⁵



In many ways an outlier in our four precincts of study, and a novelty among Brooklynites, Downtown Brooklyn resembles Times Square Manhattan more than its cultivated, quaint, neighboring precincts. The third largest commercial center of the five boroughs, trumped by only Downtown and Midtown Manhattan, Downtown Brooklyn

¹⁵ Provided by NYPD http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/precincts/precinct_084.shtml

features skyscrapers, tourists, court rooms, banking centers, and government offices. Complimentary to these revenue-generating machines, five Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) operate within the precinct, three of which make up the Downtown Brooklyn Partnership that operates on an annual budget of eight million dollars¹⁶. The intertwining networks of BIDS, government agencies, and financial centers create a continuous presence of uniformed employees and security forces, often making it challenging to distinguish between actual police and these look-alikes. The stark emphasis on commercial and business development has eviscerated the neighborhood of a thriving nightlife scene and more importantly of virtuous mixed-use space; many restaurants, cafes and shops close by 9pm, leaving the public parks and pathways desolate in evening hours.

Of course, Downtown Brooklyn did not spontaneously become the epicenter it is today without the infrastructure and strategic location it holds. Well noted by the NYPD, two primary transit links between Kings County and Manhattan are located within the 84th: the Brooklyn and Manhattan bridges. In order to accommodate such heavy traffic, the district has several large arterials, including Tillary Street, Atlantic Avenue, Jay Street, and Flatbush Avenue, each accommodating several lanes of traffic, moving at higher speeds with fewer interruptions than standard blocks and avenues of Brooklyn. Consequence of heavy traffic, these roadways are less frequently used by pedestrians, and pathways near the two bridges are clogged with five-way intersections difficult to navigate on foot. Downtown Brooklyn services the majority of the city's subway lines, including the 2, 3, 4, 5, A, C, B, F, N, Q, and R largely concentrated at Atlantic Terminal on the southeast corner of the precinct. The 84th precinct is a transit hub for motorists, subway and bus users; it is only fitting that the MTA's Transit Museum be located in this precinct.

¹⁶ Court-Livingston- Schermerhorn alliance, Fulton Mall Improvement Association, and Metrotech BID form the Downtown Brooklyn Partnership. <http://www.dbpartnership.org/>

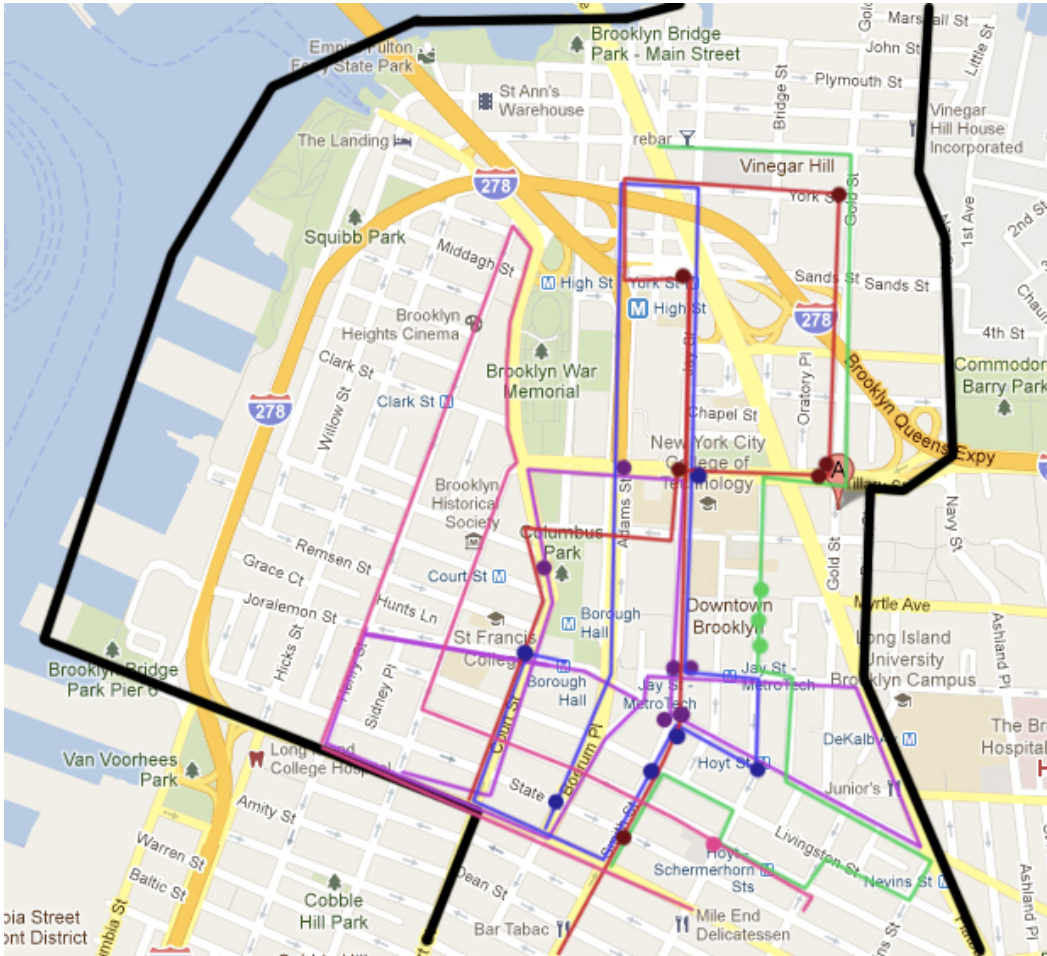
Adding to the neighborhood's Manhattan-esque vibe, are the ever-growing number of high rises, glass condominiums, and chain stores. A handful of residential towers rise over twenty stories high, while office buildings and sites of the New York College of Technology measure up only several levels behind. The 84th precinct is home to national chain stores such as Payless, Barnes and Nobel, a Lowes Cinema, Foot Locker, Macys, and H&M, many of which cluster along the Fulton Street Mall, in addition to a handful of quaint neighborhood locales, primarily along Atlantic Avenue and towards Vinegar Hill. Small delis and bodegas remain present, as well as organic grocery stores like Brooklyn Fare, or chains such as Trader Joes. These shopping options make Downtown Brooklyn a daily destination for nearby Brooklynites. Maintaining its old school charm with cast iron walk-ups and red brick facades, the serene Brooklyn Heights distinguishes itself from the rest of its chaotic, cosmopolitan surroundings as it perches upon serene waterfront real estate.

Demographic Statistics

Thankfully, for the purposes of this study, the 11201 zip code appropriately matches the boundaries of the 84th precinct with no more than several blocks extending past its borders. Due to the large portions of the precinct designated for commercial and government use, the area has a smaller population than other areas of similar size, with approximately 51,000 inhabitants. Residents of the precinct generally parallel those of the 94th precinct, varying slightly in age and race. Precisely 13% of the population is between 30 and 34, representing the largest age group closely followed by 11.3% between 25 and 29; only 11.4% of residents are over the age of 65. The highest percentage of non-family households is found in Downtown Brooklyn, accounting for 57.8% of the total recorded households. Property values also mirror those of Downtown Brooklyn's northern neighbor in the 94th, with average real estate costs at \$689 per square foot. The greatest divergence in statistical representation are figures relating to race, only 67.1% of residents identify as white, followed by 15.1%

identifying as African American. The significant non-white populations primarily reside toward the northern and eastern borders, surrounding Flatbush Avenue and the Farragut Homes.

Research Findings



Over the five observation periods, 19 cars were seen patrolling the 84th precinct, followed by a dozen stationary vehicles and four officers on foot (foot patrol officers were all sighted in the same incident). The map is similarly annotated, marking sighted vehicles and walked paths. Below are selected field notes:

- *One squad car at Fulton St and Jay St. with lights flashing headed North up Jay St towards bridge. November 4th, 9:50pm*
- *One squad car parked on Flatbush Ave and Tillary St with lights flashing (entrance to Manhattan bridge). November 11th 9:10pm, and January 13th 9:30pm*

- *One van full of officers headed north on Jay towards Tillary Street. November 11th, 9:45pm*
- *2 squad cars north on Adams at Johnson, 1 has woman in the back seat. November 11th, 9:50pm.*
- *1 squad car drives below normal speed of traffic down Fulton. December 2nd, 7:35pm.*
- *1squad car south on Bridge stops at Fulton, he waits at the intersection on the phone with lights flashing for at least 4 minutes, gets off the phone but remains in place. December 2nd, 7:40pm.*
- *One, older, white male cop seen talking to group of three thirty-something Black women, and one man outside of a dark restaurant playing loud music with dim lights. The group seems to be disgruntled, complaining about someone “Sir he could have done his job differently” one woman says. Eventually they are laughing together. Two other young male cops are sighted walking in the direction of the group, half a block away. Bridge Street between Myrtle Ave and Tech Pl. January 13th, 8:50pm*

The majority of NYPD presence sighted in the 84th precinct moved through one of the major avenues, particularly those leading to the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges. While there were some officers repeatedly guarding entrances to bridges as a precaution for terrorism control (as gained from an interview with an officer of the 84th) the bridges function primarily as a throughway, rather than patrol space. It’s critical to note that these bridges, particularly the Brooklyn Bridge, which is serviced by Jay St and Adam St, lead directly into downtown Manhattan, the sight of the Occupy Wall Street protests. On November 4th, 11th and December 2nd, significantly more squad cars were sighted on these major arterials, leading toward the bridges; however, 2012 observations saw a great reduction in these numbers. Furthermore, several interviewed officers sighted the stress of Occupy Wall Street, requiring additional forces deployed from all five boroughs. These correlations appear strong, yet they are

speculative and cannot with certainty explain the high number of officers sighted in the 84th precinct in the winter of 2011.

As the site of the borough's hall (i.e. county seat) and as a result the various court buildings and detention centers, the 84th precinct sees a heavier amount of traffic and official city related transportation than other areas. As I was noting police squad cars that passed, I sighted countless other official vehicles deceptively resembling police cars, including: Kings County Sheriff, FDNY, MTA, Gold Security, and Department of Corrections. Each had a row of lights atop a white Ford sedan, with its respective organization's logo painted across the side. Though these vehicles are not officially involved in patrolling and policing streets in the 84th precinct, as a result of the resemblance they bear to police vehicles, they nonetheless add to the sense of surveillance and supervision.

Pedestrians do not frequent the major arterials and avenues accounting for most of the observed patrolling officers. Jay and Adams streets are home to several government buildings, major hotels, and corporate offices. Thus in a sense, they lack the capacity of Jacobsian nooks, where city users and small shop owners manage the streets themselves, making it necessary for police to have a heightened presence on these avenues. Yet, despite the lack of pedestrian traffic, much of the area is subject to heavy surveillance via video cameras and doormen. The large Sheraton hotel, the courthouse, Metrotech buildings, are not only equipped with visible video cameras facing toward the street, but also regular, uniformed officers policing their entrances. Someone or something always has a watchful gaze upon the commercial streets of Downtown Brooklyn through the dark hours of the night, rendering the surveillance witnessed here more in line with Foucault's panopticon, rather than Jacobs' intimate eyes upon the street depictions. Rather than patrolling, protecting, and serving the users of the 84th precinct, many of these guards work to defend the interests of the government facilities and capital-generating corporations.

The consistent presence of the state, uniformed officers, and foreboding street signs renders the surveillance in the 84th precinct distinctly Foucauldian. Remaining largely invisible and inaccessible, the rather consistent sight of siren equipped squad cars, or slews of parked NYPD vans, instills a sense of omnipresence. Unavailable for direct interaction or human contact, these vehicles entwine city users with their gaze and the acute awareness of government offices. Badge toting men sit behind glass windows, or in small kiosks on corners, floodlights illuminate Fulton Street eliminating shadows in which thieves would lurk, and city government signs grace the courtyards and parks surrounding borough hall. While considering even the spike in roaming police presence in October and November, likely as a result of the Occupy Movement, signs and signals of the distant, anonymous yet ever watchful state prevail. Isolating the neighborhood from Wilson & Kelling's text, officers were seen engaging with residents during one isolated incident; active engagement with city users is rare, be it in the form of an open squad car window, foot patrols, or squad cars frequenting pedestrian streets.

There are pockets of the neighborhood wherein state presence is absent, or takes a different form. Brooklyn Heights, the wealthy waterfront residential corridor, saw no visual representations of surveillance such as cameras, doormen or squad cars. The only traces of city politics lingering among their streets are the charming historical landmark signs that grace the lampposts of cobblestone streets. Conversely only one of the squad cars was sighted in Vinegar Hill and the Farragut Residences, the housing project with buildings of 13 or 14 floors. Instead of swarming vehicles or foreboding doormen, those passing through Gold, York, Sands, or Navy Streets of the projects are graced with dozens of white signs stating "NYPD security camera in area," a stark contrast with the parental tone taken in Williamsburg's police signage. The signs sit atop 15-foot poles, at least three per courtyard and one above the entrance of each building; their presence is factually inescapable. Rather

than gracing the low-income minority residents and guests of the Farragut homes with minimal presence in the form of squad patrols, officers distance themselves and delegate the task of surveillance to technology. Identical to the desired function of the classic panopticon, these Orwellian signs design obedience through constructed senses of observation. The watcher is rendered absent and invisible, but his field of view is critically highlighted.

NYPD Interview

The officer interviewed in the 84th precinct was reluctant to generalize, locate, or specify details of the neighborhood's criminal activity, rather he continued to express his vague commitment to resolving problems and ameliorating the quality of life for residents and guests of his precinct. Continually insisting that there were few trends in spatiality or temporality of crime, he denied the use of target patrols: "There's no one set place that makes it more special than the next. Crime evolves, criminals learn, once you put a cop there they're gonna move." This rejection of repetitive paths of patrol is somewhat consistent with our collected data, seeing cars sporadically throughout the central and eastern sides of the precinct, while many utilize the major arterials for mobility's sake. Furthermore, he identified the hesitation of many community members to contact 911 or communicate directly with police officers, stating that calling the community affairs office is viewed more favorably. Perhaps this fear on behalf of citizens to work with their local police is not surprising, when officers in their neighborhood are too occupied to engage: "Patrol doesn't have the time to stop and get out of the car," stated the interviewee. Unlike Red Hook's espoused personal approach, the 84th precinct finds itself more isolated from the community it claims to protect and serve. Fittingly the lack of observed officer/citizen interaction and overbearing use of signs and cameras rather than human beings, to promote safety perpetuates the schism between those surveyed and their watchdogs.

Crime and Arrest Statistics

This alienating strategy of policing and patrols has apparently yielded effective results as far as arrest and crime statistics are concerned. Ranked the highest of all observed precincts, 57% of those arrested for misdemeanors are convicted and sentence, implying that the accuracy of arrests is much greater in the 84th. In terms of simple quantitative numbers, Downtown Brooklyn has more arrests yearly than the former two precincts, with 1385 in 2010 (the size and population of the district should be taken into consideration). Of those convicted, 32% were sentenced to jail. However, those sentenced to misdemeanors has decreased from 57% to 50%, complimented by a 5% increase in those sentenced to non-criminal offenses. We see that those arrested in the 84th precinct are more likely to be sentenced, and those sentenced are increasingly more likely to be charged with less serious offenses; the inverse of the data from Williamsburg's precinct. Much like our two previously examined precincts, the 84th is a low crime neighborhood, yet unlike the others, Downtown Brooklyn has successfully reduced the number of felonies in all seven categories since 1990. With every year of data presented, the number of reported murders, robberies, burglaries, rapes, grand larcenies, grand larceny assaults, and felony assaults has decreased with the negligible exception of the rise in grand larcenies from 732 to 736 between 1998 and 2001 (with only 561 reported in 2011).

Conclusions

Downtown Brooklyn distinguishes itself from the rest of its artistic, intimate, non-commercial borough, making it a paradoxical choice for the location of a county seat. Much like its neighboring New York County, Downtown Brooklyn is fixed with glass towers, corporate buildings, and government plazas. Contrasting with Jacobs' ideal city and conceptualization of safe neighborhoods, the 9-5 weekday interests of the 84th consequently result in dwindling nightlife, depriving the area of all-important temporally mixed-use space.

Yet this insecurity is compensated for with a hawkish presence of uniformed doormen, security cameras (as well as signs boldly announcing their presence), and public space lit with floodlights. Within the confines of the commercial center, it's impossible to escape the awareness of government presence.

While there was a high number of cars sighted in the neighborhood, we must consider the anomalies presented by the Occupy Wall Street movement, and its potential to have skewed the data. With or without those high numbers of squad cars sighted boarding the Brooklyn and Manhattan bridges, the 84th precinct is one of invisible, anonymous, Foucauldian surveillance, a place wherein officers "don't have time" to get out of their vehicles, and where cameras are substitutes for human bodies; the antithesis of Broken Windows-style policing. While I did witness one seemingly more personal encounter between an officer and four disgruntled bar patrons, this interaction occurred only within a space of capital and consumption. The primary goal of the 84th precinct, I claim, is the consecration of its status as New York City's third largest commercial center; investments of the city government and private corporations are preserved at all costs. Spaces, residents, and businesses falling outside these interests are subject to Foucauldian surveillance, the key example being the Farragut Homes. Low-income minorities who can offer little incentive for tourist or business attraction are not deserving of patrols conducted by individuals, but rather subjected to omnipresent surveillance by machines. *To protect and serve* seemingly applies only to those pleasing the one percent.

Chapter 6: Crown Heights and the 71st Precinct

The 71st Precinct is located in Central Brooklyn in the southern end of the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. It is primarily a residential and commercial area consisting of factories, warehouses, one and two family private houses as well as numerous apartment buildings home to 110,000 lower and middle income residents. The four primary commercial strips are Utica Avenue, Kingston Avenue, Nostrand Avenue, and Flatbush Avenue. The residents living in the confines of the 71st Precinct are primarily of three major and distinct ethnic groups; African American, Lubavitch Hasidim Eastern European Jews and Caribbean Americans.¹⁷



One of the few Brooklyn neighborhoods left largely untouched by gentrification, the 71st precinct houses immigrants of diametrically opposed populations: Black Caribbeans from the Antilles, and white Hasidic Jews from eastern Europe. Despite their vastly different religious views and cultural norms the two groups have peacefully coexisted in the neighborhood for generations with the Jewish population dominating the inclusive rectangle between Eastern Parkway and Empire Boulevard, from Troy to New York Avenue. More recently, however, African Americans, Latinos, and even a small white, professional, population have begun to

¹⁷ Provided by NYPD http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/precincts/precinct_071.shtml

stake their claim within the precinct's boundaries. Beautiful Prospect Park-side real estate at cheap prices has drawn this young crowd, filling in prewar buildings along Ocean, Flatbush, Franklin and Washington Avenues. The geographical isolation of the neighborhood relative to Manhattan, has likely slowed the growth of high rises, national chain stores, or trendy bars, both beneficial and detrimental to the neighborhood and its safety. Of the four studied precincts, the 71st has the greatest access for personal motor vehicles; many single-family homes are paved with driveways and generous street parking. Yet the 71st is not short on public transit, with access to the 2, 3, 4, 5, B, Q, and S subway lines, and a handful of frequently used Brooklyn bound bus routes.

The neighborhood is bordered to the west and east by city parks. More notably, Brooklyn's prided Prospect Park occupies the entire western border of the precinct, while also defining its northern and southern boundaries. The southwest corner of the park marks the intersection of Ocean and Parkside Avenues, not coincidentally the corner of the precinct. The mirror image of this junction is that of Eastern Parkway and Classon Avenue in the northwestern corner. Eastern Parkway covers the entire northern border, an essential arterial that traverses much of Brooklyn with three lanes of traffic in either direction, an island on either side for pedestrians and bikers, followed by a final outer lane of local residential traffic and parking for both those headed east and west. Lastly the rolling hills of Lincoln Terrace Park border the eastern corner of the precinct, constituting the division between Crown Heights and the even more remote Brownsville.

In classic, urban grid form, the district is comprised of long avenues, where restaurants, bodegas, and commercial real estate thrive, broken apart by short residential blocks (typically the distance between avenues traveling east to west is thrice the distance between streets north to south). Streets within the neighborhood are typically one way, dimly lit, and lined with two to four story single or double family homes. Particularly in the southern

half of the district, more aptly classified as Lefferts Gardens, single-family homes accompanied by driveways, regularly with front, side and/or back yards, permeate the area. This overwhelmingly residential character almost bears resemblance to suburban neighborhoods, vacant and dark in the evening with pedestrian sidewalks meeting the front gates of every lawn. Thus, without the daunting housing condominiums of newer, trendier neighborhoods, the residencies of the 71st precinct are smaller, shorter, and older. Yet housing along avenues is typically in the form of apartment buildings, reaching seven or eight stories maximum.

Recalling the statements of the interviewed officer of the 94th precinct, attributing its safety to its “mostly residential” character, it is worth further critiquing his claim in evaluating the usage of the 71st precinct. While Crown Heights does indeed have its own commercial avenues, well identified by the NYPD themselves in the description above, it is certainly “mostly residential.” This neighborhood has the fewest restaurants, bars, and stores with which to draw guests, tourists, or visitors. Similarly there are no large businesses or places of employment, with the exception of perhaps the Kings County Hospital Center, occupying four square blocks at the south end of the precinct. Those businesses that are found littering the storefronts of commercial avenues are typically small businesses including fast food restaurants, bodegas, delis, barber shops, and nail salons, all of which are oriented toward the avenue with large open glass windows.

Demographic Statistics

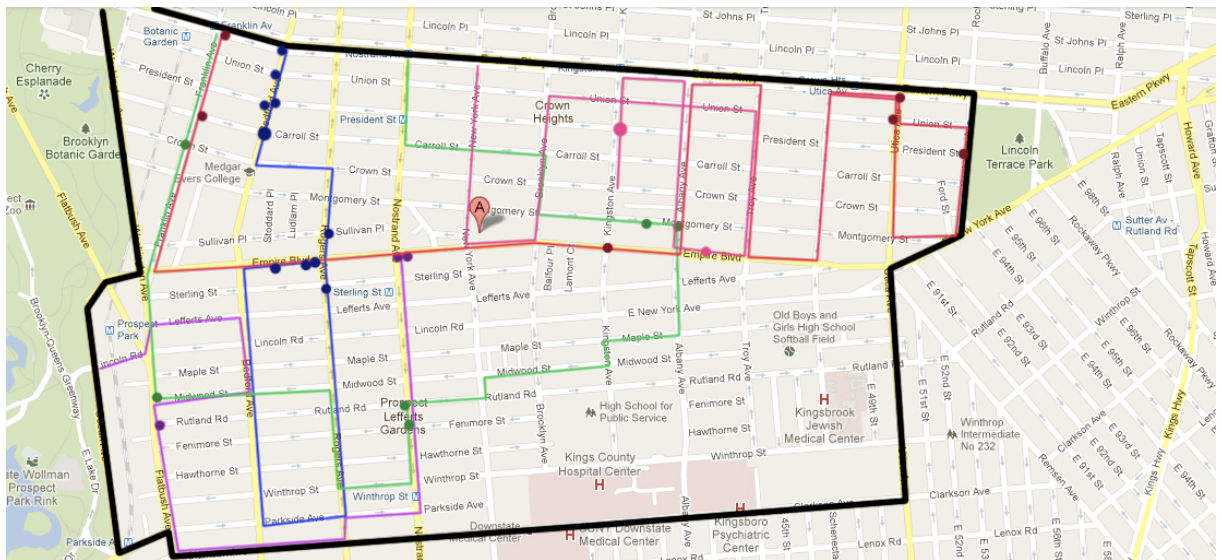
Census data for Crown Heights and Lefferts Gardens support observed claims regarding the lack of urban gentrification. Residents of the 71st precinct are more likely to live in family households, are more varied in age, and are predominately racial minorities. Again a plurality of zip codes represent the precinct, with the entirety of the 11225 zone inside the western half, and 11213 dipping into a large third of the north east. Over 57,000 people reside

in 11225, all of which are included in the precinct, combined with a substantial portion of the 63,000 residents of 11213; totaling approximately 85,000 residents in the precinct. Both zip codes have very diverse and evenly distributed age groups, fluctuating between 6% and 10% of total residents for all 5-year age groups between 0 and 59 years; 11.5% of population is over 65 years old. Again both Crown Heights zip codes have a similar racial make up (diverging by no more than 3%), with approximately 17% of residents identifying as white, and 74% as Black. Only 10.2% identified as Hispanic or Latino.

The family household structure is similar in both zip codes, yet differs greatly from other neighborhoods of study. Fifty-eight percent of households in the western zip code of 11225 are family households, while 25% of those are run by a single mother, and 25% by a husband-wife family. 11213 finds itself as even more family focused, with 63.8% family households about half of which are again led by single mothers. Paralleling prices in Red Hook, the average real estate cost is \$419 per square foot. The historic patterns of the neighborhood remain true today: a largely Black population, the majority of whom reside in family households, sold at lower prices than much of Brooklyn's waterfront and Manhattan bordering real estate.

Research Findings

In five observation periods I sighted a total of 24 patrol cars, and ten officers on foot in the 71st precinct. Below are some selected field notes:



- 1 car with two officers in the front (white men) and a full backseat of Black men not in uniform, drives south on Nostrand at Empire Blvd. 8:30pm, October 21st
- NYPD buggie at Nostrand and Rutland. Officer standing around, hovering next to an empty 90s ford sedan. 8:30pm, November 5th.
- 1 cop parked a bit further down the block on Nostrand. Black man in plain clothes (a suit) comes from the door of a private birthday party and enters the squad car, drives off. 8:30pm, November 5th.
- One cop standing on corner of Schenectady and President. Standing under scaffolding of apartment building, facing Lincoln Terrace Park, playing with iPhone? Or radio? Or gameboy? 7:20pm, November 19th.
- NYPD van, staffed by latino male and female officers, had pulled over Black man in Toyota sedan on Empire blvd at Kingston, they all part ways, man didn't appear to receive a ticket. 7:50pm, November 19th.
- One squad car heading west on President turns onto Bedford, heading south, pulls over and waits. 3 officers wait inside the car. Moments later an additional squad car heads south on Bedford (spotted at Union), also with three officers. Moments after, first car pulls out, quickly one officer points ahead at a silver BMW and they head out of sight. 7:05pm, January 14th. 1,
- Van pulls away from curb at Carroll St on Bedford. 6 officers are on sidewalk, two women, four men. One woman stands "guard" in front of bodega. 2 men head East on Carroll Street, walking nonchalantly, walking beats. Three others head down Bedford into Pizza shop, at least 10 other police officers are inside. 7:10pm, January 14th.

-3 uniformed officers are standing under an awning on Kingston and President. They are chatting, seemingly relaxed posture, leaning against the wall, talking about facebook and laughing, one is looking at his phone. 8:45pm, March 9th.

The police were observed to be the most active in the 71st, compared to the other precincts of study. Not only did I simply observe more vehicles, but there were also more interactions between police and citizens, officers on foot, and visible investigations. As made clear from the annotated map, few officers were observed in Lefferts Gardens (south of Empire Boulevard), nor in the inclusive quadrant of the Hasidic community.

In contrast with the state's electronic surveillance presence in Downtown Brooklyn, Crown Heights has an intimidating visible network of privately operated surveillance cameras. With dozens of replicas of the chapter's opening photo, virtually all apartment building (not single family homes) on the eastern edge of the precinct, are equipped with visible signs and cameras. This panoptic method unanimously prevails block after block in the geographically isolated quadrant east of Troy Avenue and north of Empire Boulevard, not coincidentally the most densely African American subsection of the 71st precinct.

Furthering Foucault's presence in these areas, is the use of undercover officers. While "plain-clothes" officers are deployed in all precincts, the 71st is one of a handful of precincts in the NYPD with a specific SNEU task force. Short for Street Narcotics Enforcement Unit, SNEU targets low-level street crimes such as drug dealing and consumption, many of which are misdemeanors or non-criminal offenses. Thus, while only four of all sighted vehicles were found on the northeastern edges of the precinct, here city users are heavily and deceptively policed; the invisible gaze of undercover officers and surveillance cameras is omnipresent yet eerily invisible. Again, this happens to be the Blackest corner of the precinct, cited by the interviewed officer as an area largely dominated by African Americans rather than their Caribbean immigrant neighbors occupying the western edges of the precinct. Unlike the use

of undercover vehicles observed in Red Hook, those that transformed from covert to spectacular, under-cover surveillance is indeed more insidious as performed in Crown Heights. Presumably the perception of this thriving Black community as violent, not contained by state property and public housing projects, makes it a more apt recipient of faceless, concealed yet ever-present, policing.

The spatial mapping of officers and patrol cars contradicts Jacobs' principles; the darkest streets are those rarely trafficked, the busiest avenues that are rife with activity and the capacity to survey themselves are often swarming with police vehicles. Effectively, the long, commercial avenues scattered with barbershops, nail salons, fast food joints, and delis are well constructed for street viewing. In fact, in the hours of observation, many men and women's salon chairs were faced outwards toward the street, such that we often made eye contact as I glanced into the passing shops. This visible street access is the pinnacle of Jacobs' work, one in which groups of locals (presumably) and proprietors watch those passing by day and night. Unlike those lounging on stoops in the housing projects, or transient inhabitants of hip new condominiums, many of the residents of Crown Heights have a long family history rooted in the neighborhood, which would seemingly further entice them to protect their own community. While these proprietary interests do appear to rule along residential streets, where homeowners perhaps protect and police their own lawns and porches, NYPD forces intervene in these spaces of Black sociability.

Crown Heights is the only neighborhood to have heeded the words of wisdom presented by Wilson & Kelling as the only precinct wherein officers were sighted on foot walking beats. With a slew of officers found on Bedford Avenue on January 14th, one officer spotted near the eastern most edge of the district on November 19th, and three in the center of the Hasidic community on March 9th, there was little consistency in the geography of these forces. Additionally, we can assume that there was a much higher number of undercover

officers walking the streets of the precinct, although they perhaps contradict the Broken Windows hypothesis insofar as they are not a visible presence of order, care, or control. Nonetheless, the presence of these additional men and women on foot indicates a sense of threat of urban decay, felt and perpetuated by the NYPD. As this was the only neighborhood with foot patrols, according to the broken window's hypothesis, we might assume that there are more visible signs of disorder: graffiti, visible drinking and smoking on the street, loitering, or vandalism. Yet particularly in contrast with the neighborhood with the least private or publicly operated surveillance, Williamsburg, the 71st precinct is pristine-- no noticeable graffiti was sighted, residents were seen sweeping their porches while shopkeepers wipe the windows of their store fronts.

NYPD Interview

Thankfully, the interviewed officer of the 71st was the most forthcoming with specific details regarding strategies of the NYPD in Crown Heights. He repeatedly acknowledged the necessity of maintaining peace, communication, and cooperation between the disparate demographics presented in the neighborhood. What's more critical for our purposes, is his identification of varied policing strategies for each ethnically categorized sub-district. Since the 9/11 terrorists attacks in New York City, the NYPD had identified the Jewish sector of Crown Heights as at risk for terrorist threats. Thus, according to the interviewed officer, the community between New York and Albany Avenues, Eastern Parkway to Empire Boulevard is subject to special attention. And within these boundaries I did encounter a group of three, young, white NYPD officers, reclining against the brick wall off a closed shop while chattering. Their presence felt uncritical and inattentive, but perhaps served as protective and preventative measure against terrorism. Shockingly on the same night, I observed two white CHSP sedans, mimicking police vehicles, within the confines of the Hasidic community. Certified Homeland Security Professionals appear to take interest in the supervision of the

center of the 71st precinct, likely aspiring to protect its Jewish population, identified as vulnerable by the interviewed NYPD officer.

He further identified the area east of the Hasidic community, the same location wherein surveillance camera signs were consistently found, as the primary location of the NYPD's big seven felonies. Consequently, approximately 55 officers (of the precinct's 165 available) are deployed to this eastern region most nights. In regards to the whiter, western, Prospect Park-bordering edges, the officer stated, "they're victim's of their own success;" this community has done a good enough job gentrifying and thus protecting itself, yet allegedly demands more attention from the 71st precinct. I did sight many cars in this northwestern vicinity, again primarily on commercial avenues. Perhaps their presence was a response to the vocal concerns of these new neighbors. While the urban planning and street design remains consistent on the western and eastern borders, the increased presence of whiteness has definitively decreased the need for NYPD's undercover SNEU surveillance surrounding Prospect Park. An area increasing in whiteness is receiving more visible, explicit, attention from the NYPD, juxtaposed against the covert policing conducted in its eastern counterpart.

Crime and Arrest Statistics

While the 71st precinct has almost twice the aggregate arrests of any other precinct of study, it's critical to remember that it has the largest population, with over 85,000 residents and also outsizes other areas of study in square miles. Although we see the most arrests here, we also find the least accuracy. Out of 2,561 misdemeanor arrests in 2010, only 41% were convicted and sentenced to a crime (be it noncriminal, misdemeanor, or felony) compared to 45% in Williamsburg (with only 680 total arrests), 46% in Red Hook and 57% in Downtown Brooklyn. Furthermore, of those convicted, significantly more were sentenced to a non-criminal offense, accounting for 65% of all sentences compared to 60%, 51% and 48% respectively. In the 71st precinct, more people are arrested, fewer are actually found guilty of

their charges, and those found guilty are sentenced to less serious crimes. Again subscribing and succumbing to the theory of Broken Windows, arrests appear to be made in the precinct for the sake of action, setting an example through the visible spectacle of policing (which Foucault hypothesizes as outdated), rather than on grounds of culpability or severity of offense.

Mimicking the trends of New York City on aggregate, and particularly those of the 84th precinct, the 71st has seen an exponential decline in violent crime since 1990. With the exception of a rise in murders from 11 to 15 between 1995 and 1998, all seven felonies have decreased over every year for which we have data. While some felonies are considerably higher in the 71st, such as nine murders in 2011 compared to one in the 94th and 84th, others remain relatively similar such as burglary, all hovering around 200. In sum, the 71st precinct had 1,455 reported felonies in the seven categories for 2011, compared to 1,052 in Downtown Brooklyn and 831 in Williamsburg. While these statistics cannot be negated, it is important to bear in mind the comparative size and population of each precinct; the 71st has over 30,000 more residents than the next largest precinct of study, increasing the possibilities for the occurrence of crime.

Conclusions

While the 71st precinct is geographically larger and more populous than the other neighborhoods of study, I spotted exponentially more officers patrolling these streets. The NYPD has a similarly sized staff to that of other precincts, but again I found a greater number of patrolling squad cars, and furthermore I found officers on foot in each of the three divisive sections of the neighborhood. This personable presence in the Hasidic community appeared protective, in cooperation with Homeland Security and anti-terrorism efforts. According to Wilson & Kelling, these officers walking beats in the Black and Caribbean sectors would indicate signs of urban decay, yet streets were clean and well tended to by the lifelong

residents and friends of Crown Heights. Families and history are central to the 71st precinct and its immigrant communities, but due to their Black minority status, the potential for internal protection is overrun by state intervention. More problematically, this interference often takes invisible forms thanks to the specificities of the local SNEU task force. Privately operated surveillance cameras and their threatening signage accompany this invisibility. Thus three policing strategies are present in the 71st: *protect* the vulnerable, central Jewish population, *serve* the vocal Prospect Park bordering community, and *survey* the expanding African American population.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

In October of 2011 I walked down Union Street with high hopes, heading for what was to be the first of several fruitful interviews with NYPD officers. Inside the doors of the 76th precinct's headquarters on 191 Union Street, any potentially glamorous preconceptions of police work are washed away in a sea of incessant phone rings, gritty tiling, handwritten or printed notices haphazardly taped along antiquated drywall, and a conference table surrounded by ripped vinyl chairs. Despite previous conversations, I was ultimately denied a meeting in my first encounter with rigid, opaque, bureaucratic, police policies; I was, however, granted a brief chat and a perusal of crime maps. Printed on large white sheets, again haplessly tacked to the walls, the precinct's crime stats team had mapped every crime in the past 30 days: seven maps for each of the seven felonies, color-coded for time, with circles weighted in size for frequency. It was a relatively sparse map with several labeled streets including Van Brunt and Hicks, amongst an otherwise indecipherable puzzle of squares and lines. Two large gray masses distinguished themselves from the unmarked space. Due to my familiarity with the neighborhood, I knew that these did not represent the Red Hook Parks, nor Ikea, nor any other well-known neighborhood landmark, I inquired. The larger southernmost gray blob indicated the Red Hook Homes, while its smaller, northern counterpart symbolized the Gowanus Homes (within the borders of the 76th, but outside of my area of study). On a nearly blank map with few geographical indicators, the NYPD chose to identify only these public housing projects, and nothing more.

This implies that the 76th precinct of the NYPD directs particular effort and attention towards monitoring those who live in subsidized housing, or perhaps generally low-income, minority populations, consistent with my findings. Of all 64 mobile squad cars sighted during 20 hours of observation, 30 (46.9%) were in these minority-centered areas. If we were to exclude those cars that were speculated to be in transit, that is driving at high speeds on major

arterials towards a precinct or other major roadway, now 26 of 45 (57.8%) were in predominately minority areas. Eleven vehicles were sighted surrounding public housing (recall that the 71st precinct does not have any public housing developments). While this black and brown policing accounted for nearly half of all cars sighted, these numbers are perhaps more startling when considering the comparably marginal amount of space dominated by these low income minority communities- approximately a third of the total geographic area I investigated. Although each neighborhood as an individual case offers a rather small sample size, in aggregate the micro-trends observed remain consistent.

The 94th precinct was characterized by limited police presence, most of the cars spotted were traversing commercial routes littered with bars, restaurants, and their loitering patrons; the few cars sighted outside this area were surrounding the precinct's housing project. The isolated 76th precinct of Red Hook, the smallest staffed and safest precinct in Brooklyn, contains the borough's largest housing project. Relatively few cars were sighted (consider the geographical limitations of the area), the majority of which hovered around and within the Red Hook Homes. Here, patrolling often seemed more deliberate, as cars moved about at a slower pace, often in teams, or pausing to collaborate before continuing their shifts. Downtown Brooklyn is a hub of state, commercial and tourist traffic; its quick access to Manhattan perhaps results in a more frequent sighting of squad cars in transit. In seeking to protect these capital generating interests, an intertwining and indecipherable network of public and private security police countless façades and lobbies. Finally, the 71st precinct was typified by an at times overwhelming presence of squad cars, exclusively roaming the commercial avenues of the large district often avoiding the whiter or wealthier pockets of the Hasidic community. Yet in addition to the large visible presence, information gleaned from the interviewed officer tells us that even more under cover, *plain clothes officers* are deployed nightly to a targeted zone identified as African American.

Were we to dismiss all the data presented in this thesis as non-generalizable, inaccurate, or exceptional, other elements of this study continue to support the hypothesis that minority dominated spaces are seemingly policed more heavily, more regularly, and with tactics contradicting the communal and democratic theory of Jane Jacobs, often capitalizing on the space provided for racial profiling in Broken Windows, and with the insidious omnipresence of Foucault. Any signs indicating the presence of surveillance cameras for residential buildings, were only found in these low-income, minority centered spaces (this is not to say that all of these spaces had such signs). Further, in evaluating arrest statistics, it was clear that neighborhoods with predominating minority populations had less accurate arresting figures, that is to say that the percent of misdemeanor arrests that led to convictions was low. Interviews with New York's finest often indicated varied strategies for disparate demographics, an emphasis on punitive rather than cooperative solutions, and/or invocation of Broken Windows' contestable theory that small disorder may lead to violent crime. Lastly, an analysis of each neighborhood's urban design and architecture has shed light on the paradoxes of crime perceptions, urban decay and police attention.

A likely response to such conclusions may be that police focus their attention on spaces wherein crime is likely to be committed, and crime is more often than not associated with low-income minorities. Yet even the 71st precinct, the Blackest and most felonious of those neighborhoods studied, is comparatively low-crime for the NYPD. It is not my goal to confirm or reject these claims, many texts are dedicated to either upholding racial trends in crime statistics, or rejecting the generalized vilification of young, urban, Black men. Yet, if we were to assume this profiling to be accurate or useful, we must further examine the implications of protecting and serving an elite defined by race and capital, meanwhile scrutinizing and punishing already disenfranchised populations.

Foucault understands that the prevalence of the panopticon results in the *generation* of criminal behavior. He interprets increased criminality as a consequence of ubiquitous invisible surveillance, despite the popular conception of this relationship as inverse: “But it is not on the fringes of society and through successive exiles that criminality is born, but by means of ever more insistent surveillance, by an accumulation of disciplinary coercion” (Foucault, 301). Prisons effectively reproduce prisoners, this mechanism is integral to their design. Thus it should not be shocking that officers groan about chronic repeat offenders, or rather they should not be surprised that such problems cyclically endure. Recent media attention, particularly that associated with the Occupy Wall Street movement, illustrates a growing animosity between citizens and police. Those most often subjected to the gaze of the state, unsurprisingly may in turn rebel. While the neighborhoods in this study were presented on a gradient of least to most sighted police vehicles, this presentation was also mirrored on a scale of least to most violent crime, and paradoxically most to least visible urban disorder, avidly supporting Foucault while largely rejecting the latter half of Wilson & Kelling’s theory of Broken Windows.

While this study does not support the conclusion that visible disorder leads to more violent crime, elements of Broken Windows may be consistent with our findings. The cited New Jersey study from the early 1980s acknowledged the benefits of “getting out of the car;” relationships and respect between police and residents were reciprocally increased by face to face contact through walking beats. Juxtaposed against impermeable squad cars, maneuvered by faceless city officers, less alienated interaction allows residents to humanize the men and women in navy blue, and vice versa. The interviewed Red Hook officer sighted this necessity, and it was witnessed in the encounter between four young men and two officers; while one could assume they were stopped as a consequence of racial profiling, they yelled to neighbors and friends on the street in a nearly comical tone, making light of their situation and

expressing familiarity with their local law enforcement. Red Hook stands largely as a statistical anomaly; over 70% of its residents are minorities from the Red Hook homes and yet it is one of the safest neighborhoods in all of the five boroughs. Here, although minorities appeared to be more frequently policed according to my observations, a backlash of delinquency remains stifled by virtue of strategies employed by other corrective bodies in the community, namely the Red Hook Community Justice Center. The seemingly victorious Red Hook model is based upon a dissemination of intimidating spectacle through an insular community, validating the theory of Broken Windows. The paradoxical triumph of Red Hook presents a point of departure for constructing a new, inclusive model of criminal justice.

Each space of study provided us with insight into the effective, diverse, and unproductive strategies of the NYPD, and furthermore the liminal relationships between race, income, urban planning, and crime. While this brief case study offers perhaps little innovative claims to the academic discourse regarding urban crime and policing, it supports many of the preexisting anxieties surrounding equality and criminal justice. Do we want to live in a city wherein the state assumes that one demographic is more criminal than the next? Do we wish to render effective urban design futile, in continuing to police spaces based on race rather than vulnerability? Do we aspire to see the interests of the state and national corporations protected above those of local residents? Do we intend to continue a largely adversarial relationship between police officers and city users? If the trends found and investigated by this thesis hold any truth, New York City risks corroding its many and most valued virtues. We may seek to build upon Jacobs' celebrated proverb; *a busy street is a safe street*, in similarly affirming that an equitable city is a meritorious city.

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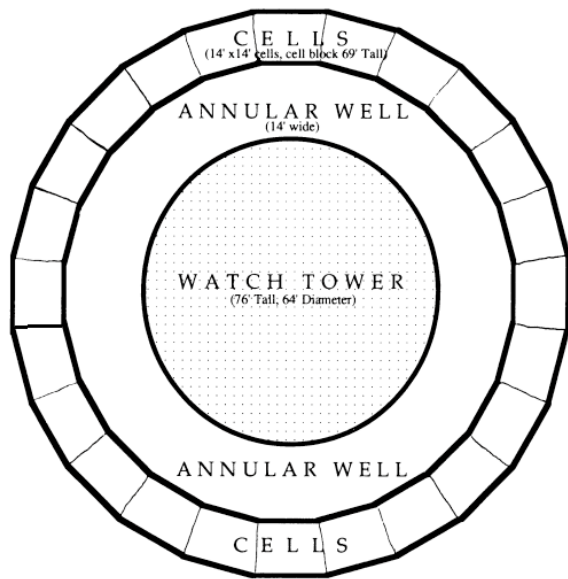
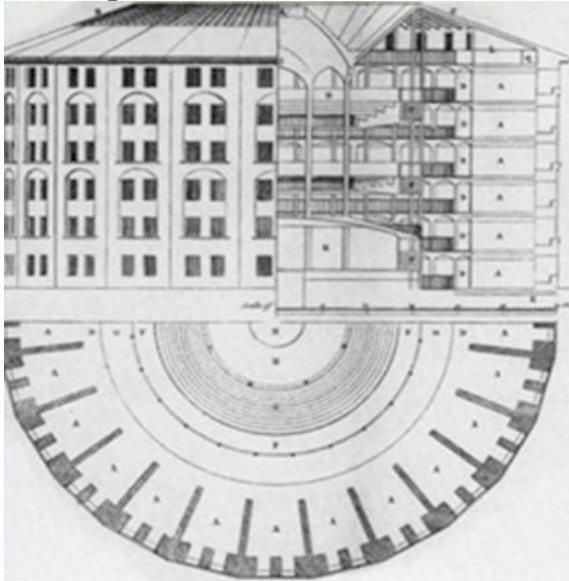
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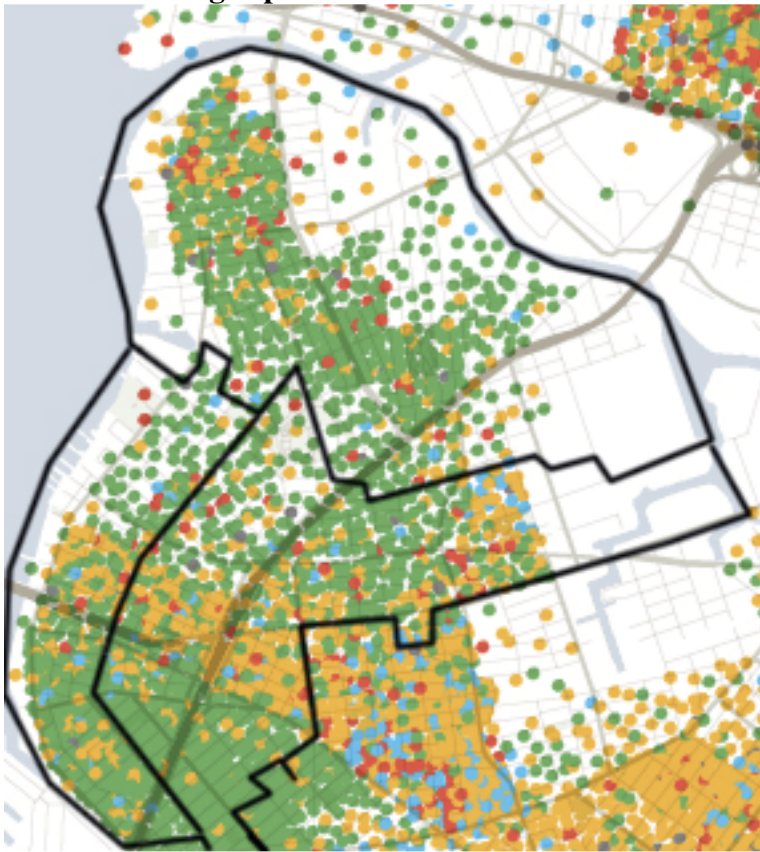
- The 2010 Census: <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml>
- The New York Police Department: www.nyc.gov/nypd
- The New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services:
<http://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/>

Appendix

A. Panopticon



B. Williamsburg Zip Codes

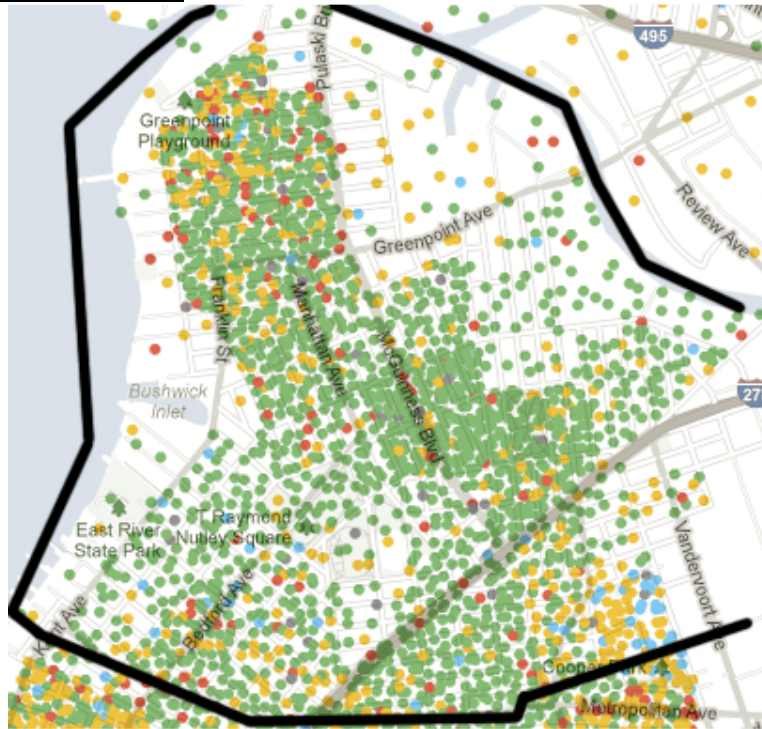


One dot = 200 residents. Green - White; Yellow - Hispanic; Blue - Black; Red - Asian

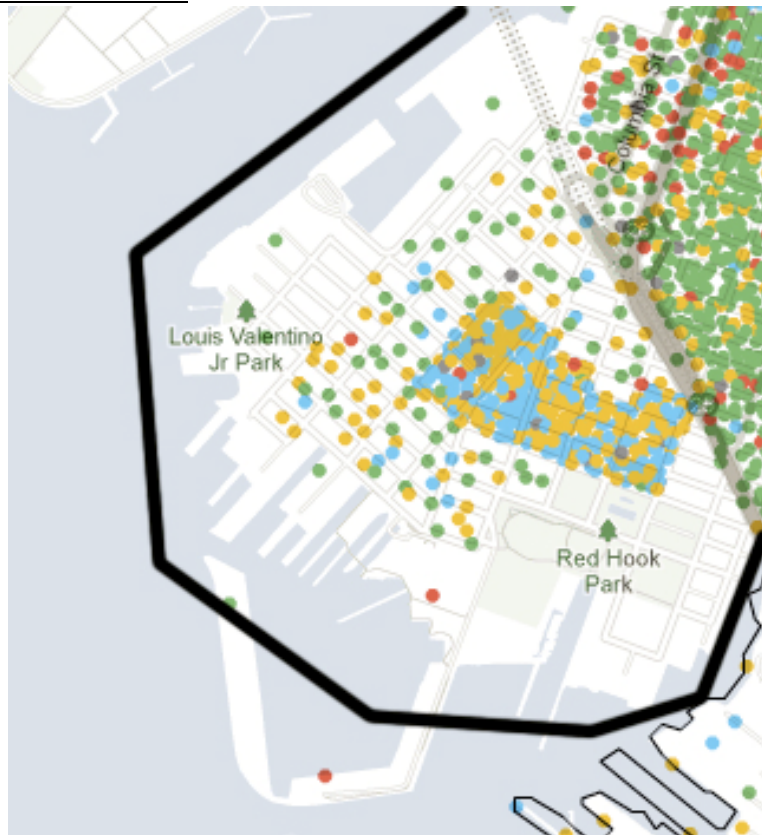
C. Racial Demographic Neighborhood Maps

One dot = 200 residents. Green- White; Yellow - Hispanic; Blue - Black; Red - Asian

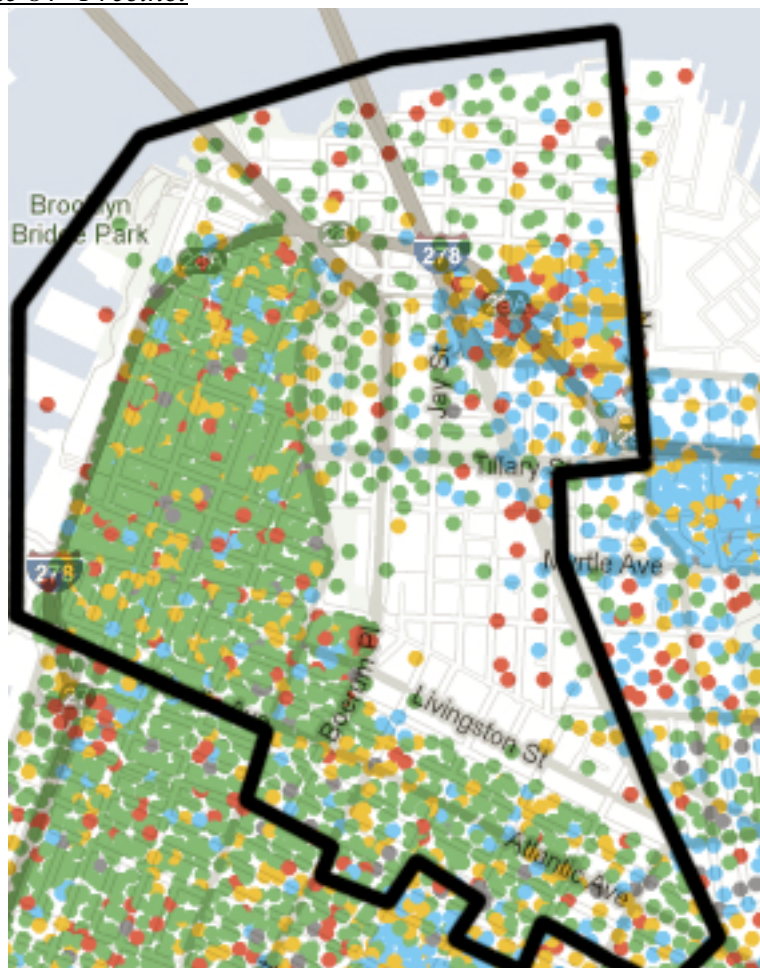
C-1. The 94th Precinct



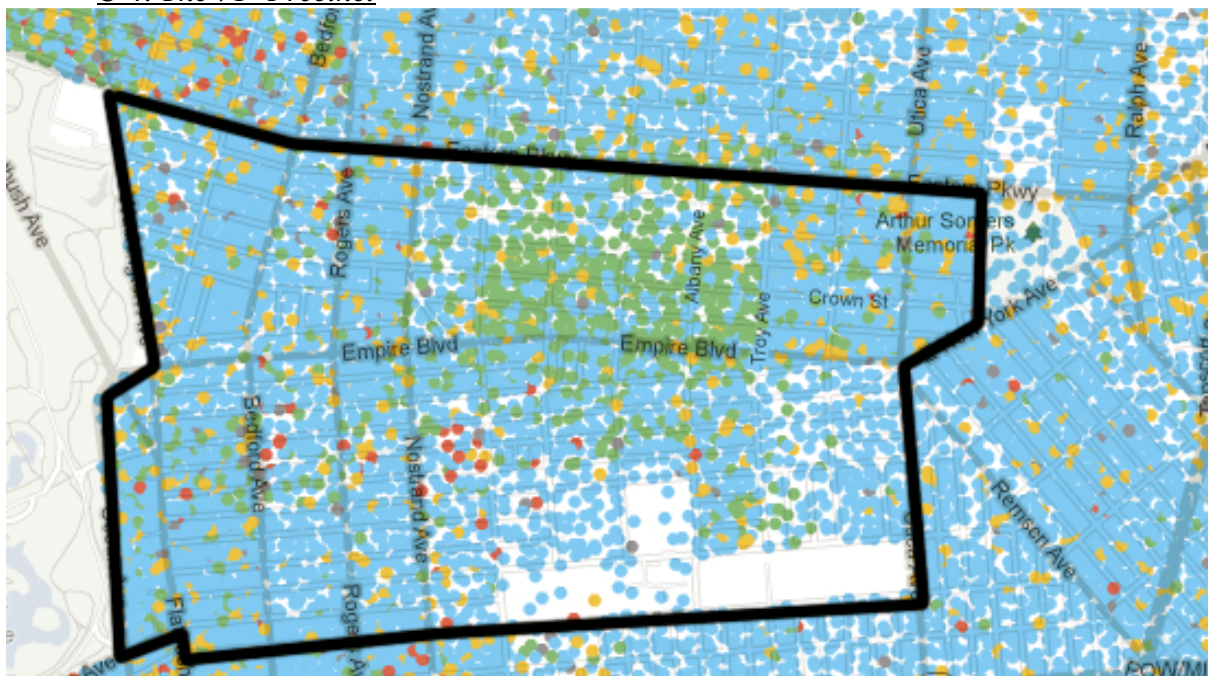
C-2. The 76th Precinct



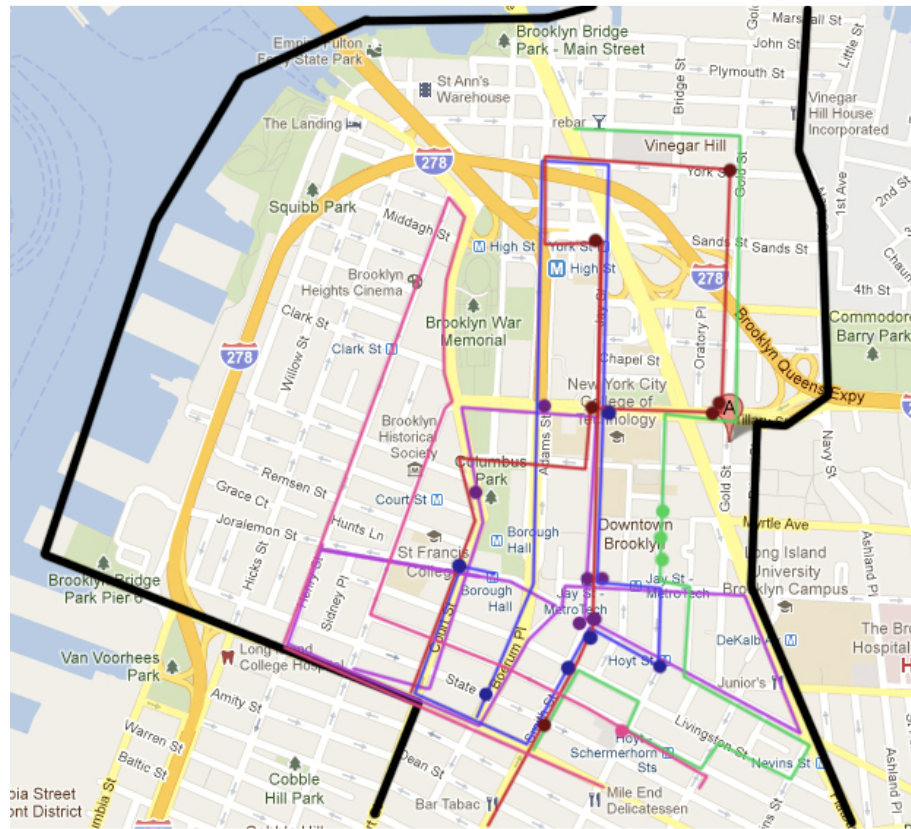
C-3. The 84th Precinct



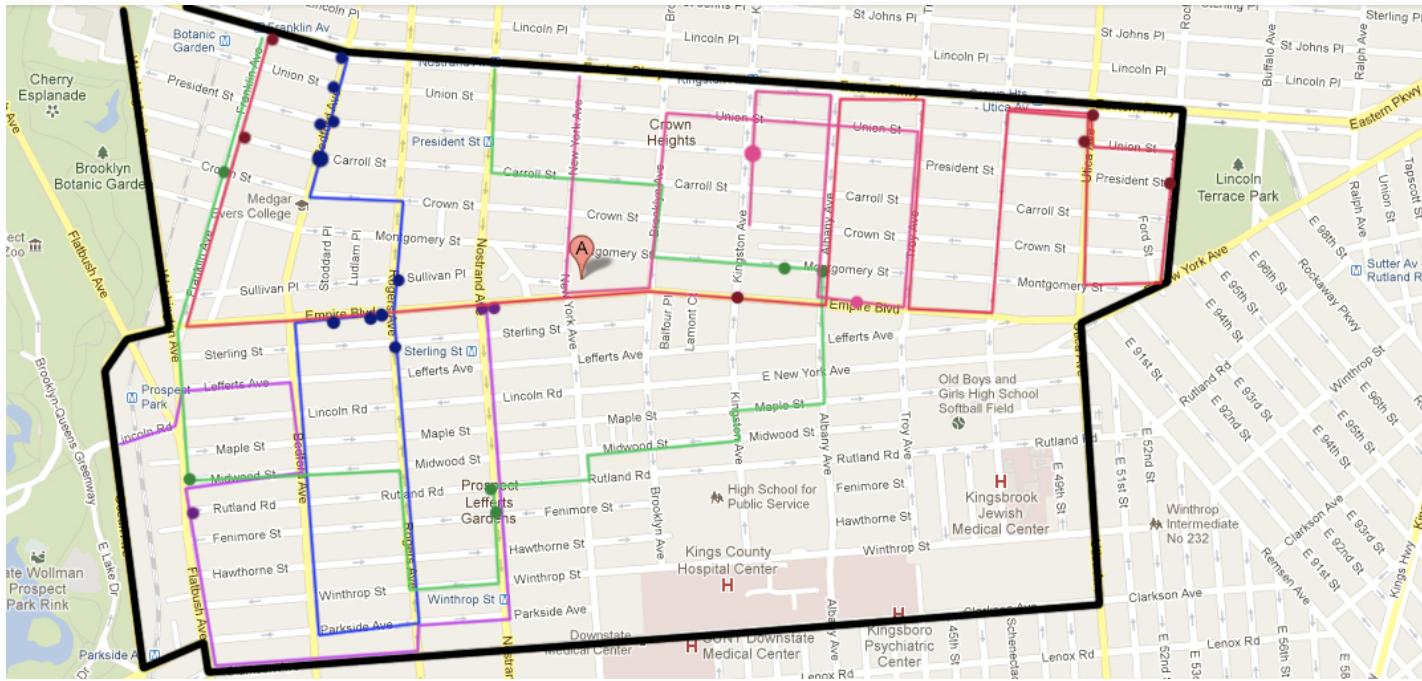
C-4. The 71st Precinct



D-3. The 84th Precinct



D-4. The 71st Precinct



E. Field Notes

E-1. The 94th Precinct

October 21, 9pm

- Homeless teenager sitting with sign “homeless please help” in front of dunkin doughnuts on Manhattan and Bedford
- 60% of stores are open... delis, bars, cafes, rite aid
- 1 squad car drives up Manhattan and turns on Meserole into precinct lot
- Café Europa bar has large crowd, noisy, 30+ standing out front
- at Noble and Manhattan, white drunk and disorderly man, jeans and black sweatshirt, stumbles down the street, calling “Steve!”. 35ish white man and woman sitting in FDNY truck sip slurpees and watch
- 1 van with 2 officers in front seats drives N on Franklin at Meserole
- passing bayside industrial area, hear sound of glass bottle breaking against concrete
- N Williamsburg and industrial Greenpoint, COVERED in graffiti.
- Sea restaurant on N6th... crowd of about 15 outside, loud
- Bedford N7, spikehill bar, very loud, about 15 again outside
- 2 young white men 25+, short blondish hair, jeans, leather boots/shoes, walk by with open 24oz bud lights in small brown paper bags on N7 and Bedford
- NYPD sign: keep our neighborhood crime free in front of Oasis
- 25+ white man and woman, “hippie” clothes, dreadlocks on girl... sit in front of N7th with sign: “any kindness is appreciated”
- Hispanic man, 30s, carrying 12oz budwiser can in small brown sack on N 10th
- No cops on foot or in cars seen passing Bedford at all
- One officer in squad car, 35+ white man, circles McCarren park from E side, around, down Bedford toward Manhattan Ave 10:10pm
- Park is well lit where 10ish people are playing sports
- Other couples sit on benches inside park...
- Man stumbling, 30s, beard, white, flannel shirt, black coat, black book bag. Stumbles hiccupping, collapses against wall and crumples onto ground... still hiccupping

November 5, 6:30-8pm

- 1 cop headed south on McGuinness, at Nassau. 1 female and 1 latino man in car
- 1 homeless guy, over 40, on Nassau and Manhattan in front of subway
- 1 car passes N on Metropolitan at N 5th
- Bedford Avenue covered, full of people. Many are sitting on planter boxes, bikes, leaning against store fronts eating, talking, waiting for tables?
- 1 squad car on Bedford and N5th. Pulls over, white man (beard and glasses) approaches the car, lingers for 5 minutes, talks on cell phone. Continues to lean into the car. He leaves. Officer gets out of car and walks into ice cream shop. Walks back out gets in car and leaves
- Chat with SAM: book vendor, he says cops never harass you in this neighborhood, in other neighborhoods they are more strict, in Manhattan. You never see cops around here, maybe checking in on stores or if they are called to resolve a dispute. He’s a former metro cop!!!: “you need to know how to talk to people, you need to have a big heart (to be a cop)”. There are a lot of silly things going on, you put pressure on guys to produce numbers if they want to be promoted. Stop question and frisk is terrible,

you can only do that if you have reasonable suspicion. Ultimately it's the Mayor's fault if he is letting policies like this continue.

- “most people who commit crimes are Black and Hispanic men, that really messes with your perspective as a cop”

November 20, 2011 8:30-9:30

- Get off at Metropolitan and lormier.
- General bar noise on metropolitan, people out and about
- Dudes chillin in projects
- 1 car headed east on frost st at Debevoise with two male officers in the front
- 1 car headed south on morgan at beadle
- People loitering in park, jogging on track
- 1 car north on lorimer at the park, circles the park
- 2 girls with 40oz malt liquor in brown bags at n11th and Bedford
- Lots of bar noise, as per usual down Bedford

January 14, 2012, 8:30pm

- Two fire trucks, interagency vehicle, and two squad cars (blocking traffic) sighted under BQE between Richardson and Frost
 - something seems to have fallen off BQE onto a nearby roof!?!?
- Generally quiet, 0 cops sighted patrolling.
- Notice a handful of surveillance camera signs on new condo buildings bordering McCarren park to the south.

March 9, 2012 9:15pm

- Through bus window, can see an officer standing in front of one NYPD auxiliary vehicle on Manhattan and Bedford, outside Dunkin Dounuts. An officer leans against the car outside.
- Many NYC yellow taxis are preset, sort of unusual for Brooklyn
- McGuinness Ave and Mt. St. McGorlick park are vacant, very few people on streets or in park
 - M.S.M Park doesn't have floodlights like McCarren, doesn't seem to be open at this hour
- No patrolling squad cars sighted

E-2. The 76th Precinct

November 4: 7:15-8:30pm

- Signs directing you to ikea... official city signs. Truck route signs too.
- 2bl fenced park on lorraine st @ redhook park
- people playing foot ball and soccer around 7:30 on Friday night
- the east side of the neighborhood is empty and abandoned. Warehouse gates with barbed wire, fences, bared windows...
- See police lights flashing at Lorraine and Henry street and follow immediately... 4 boys (latino? Not clearly Black, not white) with their hands on an undercover squad car with 1 cop in white shirt (high ranking) with them. Another regular officer. 1 officer searches their black Cadillac sedan in front. 1 squad car, their Cadillac, and 1 undercover squad car.
- I turn the corner to take some notes, boys start yelling at me “take pictures! You write this down we’re being harassed! This is captain Lewis!” Continues for about 30 seconds. About 10 people slowly approach the scene and linger. It is clear the boys

know some of these people and are shouting “yo man you’re just chilling while we’re being harassed!”

- 3 minutes after I arrived, they let the boys go and they drove off in the Cadillac.
- 1 squad car down Dwight St rolls slowly through a crowd of young kids (ages 10-13) who don’t seem threatened or affect by the car’s presence. They make little effort to get out of the way.
- 1 car parked with 2 officers, reviewing papers, in front of liquor store on Van Brunt and Sullivan
- On visitation place, under 18 year old Black male overheard talking about and showing his friend his court papers “the defendant...” (related to trespassing, court told me I can’t go anymore but look at my papers!) Ironically in front of Red Hook Community Court
- Visitation Pl... smells like marijuana
- NYPD van parked at Centre and Clinton in front of entrance to Red Hook Homes. An SUV pulls up next to the van. They sit there for at least 5 minutes and are still parked together when I walk off.
- About 10 people linger on the street in front of bars on Van Brunt and Pioneer around 8pm on Friday night.

November 11, 2011 10pm

- Where is everyone!?!?!? Pretty empty
- No one out and about on Van Brunt, only about 7 stores seem open
- 2 squad cars parked next to each other illegally on Van Brunt at Pioneer in front of bodega. Chat for 3 minutes and drive off North on Van Brunt
- 1 NYPD van down Dwight and Wolcott
- Even the projects are empty, no one hanging around there. Quiet.
- 15 men loitering on corner of Van Dyke and Van Brunt... only place where people seem to be hanging around. Waiting for the bus?
- 2 cars headed under the overpass 1 east 1 west

December 2, 2010 8:20 pm

- Lots of people hanging, walking around in projects
- Kids playing hide and seek in the street
- Lots of noise and singing from inside a Spanish Christian church
- Huge group (around 20?) in front of projects on Dwight and Wolcott hanging, birthday party? Balloons!
- 1 squad car sighted behind projects on king between Dwight and Richards.

January 13, 2012 7:45pm

- Friday the 13th, superstitious? Extra policing? Nope apparently not
- Chaos! Mass of fire trucks in Red Hook Homes East!
 - Centre St. and Henry St, four fire trucks, a FDNY SUV
 - Two cops at scene, sitting in parked squad car
- An MTA vehicle, deceptively looks like cop car (white with lights on top), pulls out of parking lot in front of Fine Fare/Soverign Bank. Lorraine and Colombia
- Can hear trash bags rattling in trees, cans rolling down sidewalk
- Van parked in projects parking lot on the border, Richards St and King St. No one inside
- Squad car with lights flashing speeds south down Dwight, turns left onto Lorraine out of sight

- Coffey park totally empty, vacant, poorly lit
- 5 people or so linger on van brunt street outside bar on Pioneer. Chatting, friendly, noisy. One of them leaves and goes inside an apartment building across the street

March 30, 2012 9pm

- Conover and Imlay Streets, very empty, abandoned warehouses, poorly lit
- No one, no cars, perhaps the most uncomfortable space in all of Red Hook
- A pack of young 10-13 year old children sprint down Colombia Street, from the Red Hook Homes into the large park on Bay St. Kids are laughing, don't appear to be afraid or running from anything in particular
- Deceptive Fire Squad SUV parked on Smith and Lorraine, white with roof top lights like a NYPD squad car
- One squad car heads north on Smith, just following a B61 city bus.

E-3. The 84th Precinct

November 4, 2011 9-10pm

- 1 car South on Cadman Plaza... official buildings, near borough hall
- 1 car on Adam St @ Johnson st.
- 1 car N on Jay St at Willoughby
- 1 van S on Jay St at Willoughby
- Flatbush ave and Dekalb, vendors, older Black men selling trinkets
- E of borough hall, largely Black population, west is primarily white
- Fulton mall is entirely closed down by 9pm... all shop fronts are gated
- Heavy bus traffic all the time, transit authority, sanitation and other agency vehicles are out and about
- Historical neighborhood, welcome to DUMBO signs
- 1 car Fulton st headed west @ Smith
- 1 car Fulton street with lights flashing headed North up Jay St.

November 11, 2011 9-10pm

- 1 car right on Schermerhorn at Smith
- 1 car parked, officer on his GPS at Jay and Willoughby
- 1 parked on Flatbush and Tillary parked with lights flashing (entrance to Manhattan bridge)
- Tillary and Gold st. large NYPD parking lot under surveillance big sign
- Corner of Nassau and gold (school building?) large mural: Crime Hurts
- Camera in area under surveillance signs, 12..... 1 per building, 2 per courtyard
- 1 car headed west on York at Gold
- Pearl and Sands, car parked with lights flashing (entrance to bridge)
- 1 car north on Jay at Sands
- 1 car South on Jay at Tillary
- 1 van full of officers north on Jay toward Tillary
- 2 cars north on Adams at Johnson, 1 has woman in the back seat
- 1 car parked on Court at Atlantic

December 2, 2011 7:15

- 1 car south on Court St at Joralemon
- 1 van parked in front of apt on State St and Adams/Boerum Pl
- 1 sheriff car?!?! Headed west on Livingston at Adams/Boerum Pl

- BID garbage cans!
- NY State Courts squad car at tech st and Adams
- 1 car parked with lights flashing at Adams and tillary (enterance to BK bridge)
- 1 car headed west on Tillary at Flatbush
- 1 squad car driving slow down fulton st mall at jay
- 1 car south on jay at fulton
- 1 car North on Lawrence at Fulton
- 1 car south on Bridge at Fulton, he waits at the intersection on the phone with lights flashing for at least 4 minutes, gets off the phone but remains in place
- 1 fire squad car N on jay at Schermerhorn
- 1 squad car parked on Jay and Scherm.
- 1 car west on Livingston at Jay
- 2 vans, cameras all around BK detention center at Jay and Atlantic
- 1 MTA suv on Atlantic at Boerum Pl

January 13, 2012. 8:45pm

- 5 cars parked outside Hoyt-Schermerhorn metro station (on scherm) TD30
- probably headquarters of NYPD metro unit?
- Parking garage in metrotech center, attendant is looking under car going into the garage with a mirror
- Metro tech/park is empty, one bar is loud and raging on the east corner
- Out front 3 women and one man, over 30, dressed nice, Black, talking with a white gray haired police officer
 - They're upset. Seemingly not at him
 - "sir, he could have done his job differently"
- 2 officers are on guard nearby
- 2 officers are approaching the scene on foot
- 2 cars are parked between the park and tillary street on bridge street
 - happens to be right behind the precinct!
- Car spotted with lights flashing at entrance to Manhattan Bridge

March 30, 2012

- Henry Street: large brownstones, seemingly single family homes, well lit by streetlights. Families are walking up and down the block, some children lounge on stoops, a handful of cafés with occupied outdoor seating
- None of the apartment buildings, nor brownstones, have security camera signs or evident surveillance
- Empty van parked on Schermerhorn and Boerum Place
 - Two more squad cars parked on Schermerhorn and Smith, all surrounding courthouse
- 1 squad car drives slowly eastbound down Schermerhorn at Hoyt
- Ambulance and 2 NYPD vans parked on Atlantic in front of the Brooklyn Detention Center.

E-4. The 71st Precinct

October 21, 7:40

- 7:40 pm prospect park off of B at Lincoln Rd
- immediately hear 1 siren to SW

- on flatbush, Bedford: 40% of store fronts are closed.
- Stores that remain open, restaurants, several swanky bars, delis, several clothing shops, primarily hair and beauty salons
- Socializing happens inside barbershops... most are full, playing music people socializing
- 1 car spotted headed north on flatbush at Rutland with one Black man in uniform in front seat
- At hawthorn, NYPD sign "Security Camera" NE corner of block
- Some amount of stoop chillin
- On several corners, far south on flatbush, there are 2-3 people hanging in a group on the corner (parkside, carlton)
- Once at Nostrand... MANY (majority) of people heard talking are speaking in with heavy accents... maybe in another language?
- More like 40% of shops are closed on nostrand opposed to 60% on flatbush
- Nostrand has very wide streets! 2bl wide sidewalks
- 8:29 One car with two officers in the front (white men) and a full backseat of Black men not in uniform, drives south on Nostrand at Empire Boulevard
- One car with one female officer in the front follows

November 5th 8:15-9:15pm

- outside of the several major avenues... neighborhood is very residential
- 1 car headed south on Albany at Montgomery (fringes of the jewish neighborhood)
- followed by 1 car headed east on Montgomery
- small kids running around alone, unsupervised on Albany and Kingston
- NYPD buggie at Nostrand and Rutland. Officer standing around, hovering next to an empty 90s ford sedan
- 1 cop parked a bit further down the block. Black man in plain clothes (a suit) comes from the door of a private birthday party and enters his car, drives off.
- Hear sirens W of Bedford ave
- 1 ambulance parked outside of Chinese restaurant (with door open), no one seems to be rushing, doesn't seem like there's an emergency. Flatbush and Midwood
- 1 van drives S on Flatbush at Midwood
- 1 car coming east to west on crown turns onto Franklin

November 19, 2011 7:15-8:15

- 1 cop, Black and young, with traffic buggie? Eastern Parkway and Utica
- He walks over to 2 other cops: 1 squad car parked in front of a Toyota highlander. Driven by a white man with *payot* and large black hat. Car has no front plates. On Utica between Union and Eastern Parkway
- Dudes grilling corn on Utica at president. He said cops will come by and ask them to shut it down. 2 dudes grilling, smoke on the street, people hanging out. In front of beauty and barber shops
- One cop standing on Schenectady and President. Standing under scaffolding of building, facing the park, playing with iPhone? Or radio? Or gameboy?
- 20 minutes later, man is still waiting behind squad car in his highlander, cops are not paying attention to him and instead speaking to two Black girls pulled over in a Toyota sedan. They're under 30 probably

- NYPD van, Latino male and female cops, had pulled over a middle-aged Black man in Toyota sedan on Empire blvd at Kingston, they all part ways, man didn't appear to receive a ticket.
- Same van seen driving down Franklin at Carroll St.
- Squad car turning off Eastern Parkway down Franklin Avenue

January 14, 2012, 7pm

- 1 van turns off Eastern Parkway, South on Bedford Ave
- 1 van stalled Eastbound on Union at Bedford, 2 white males inside
- 1 car heading west on president turns onto Bedford, heading south and pulls over and waits. 3 officers inside the car
- Car heads south on Bedford (spotted at Union), also with three officers
- Moments after, first car pulls out, quickly one officer points ahead at a silver BMW and they head out of sight.
- Van pulls away from curb at Carroll St on Bedford. 6 officers are on sidewalk, two women, four men.
 - One woman stands "guard" in front of bodega
 - 2 men head East on Carroll Street, walking nonchalantly, walking beats!?!?!?
 - 3 others head down Bedford into Pizza shop, at least 10 officers are inside
- One car parked on Rodgers at Sullivan in front of fried chicken joint, cops are not visible inside the corner store, not in the car either.
- 1 car headed north on Rodgers at Sterling
- 1 car heading east on Empire Blvd at Rodgers
- Another follows one minute later
- One minute later, another makes a U-turn on empire and now heads toward bedford
- In the distance down empire (probably at Franklin), 3 sets of red/blue lights are flashing on opposing corners.

March 9, 2012 8pm

- CHSP squad car, white with rooftop lights sighted on Union and New York
- Another sighted on Eastern Parkway between Kingston and Albany
 - CHSP --> certified homeland security professional
- A handful of surveillance camera signs along Albany Ave and Union Street
- One undercover squad car with lights flashing heads down Empire Boulevard between Albany and Troy, eastbound
- Another by a standard NYPD sedan travels eastbound between Albany and Kingston
- A truck sits with lights flashing at Eastern Parkway and Kingston, NYPD Mobile Command Center, one officer is visible inside.
- 3 uniformed officers are standing under an awning on Kingston and President
 - they are chatting, seemingly relaxed posture, leaning against the wall
 - talking about facebook and laughing
 - one is looking at his phone

F. Interview Notes

F-1. The 94th Precinct

1. How would you describe your job? What is your responsibility as a police officer in this precinct?
 - My job as CO is to coordinate all the services and units, patrol, crime prevention
 - We have 7 bureaus to coordinate (Narcotics, housing, graffiti...)
 - For general police officers “prevent crime and enforce laws”
2. How would you describe this community? Who lives here, and who comes here (and why)?
 - Mixed- residential and commercial
 - Lots of polish immigrants, or first generation polish people
 - It’s less commercial than it was before, many of the factories became highrises
 - “It’s predominately white, I don’t know what percent but you can check with the census”
 - Cooper block houses, around 5,000 people
3. What do you like/dislike about this community?
 - “it’s a great place: very diverse from commercial to residential
 - “we have great parks, McCarren Park is really great, the waterfront is great”
 - “great bars, clubs and nightlife scene”
 - we’re one of the lower crime precincts, top 10

WHY do you think that is?

 - “different factors it’s the type of neighborhood, mostly residential”
 - we only border 1 precinct
 - neighborhood guys are my biggest problem so we target them
 - 1 guy who came out of prison October 2010, we knew he was getting out so we followed him kept track of him with surveillance cameras, “now he’s away”
 - another guy we caught in January, I called the DA and he got 6 months for car theft. He came out and we let everyone know, made sure everyone had his picture, have our plain clothes officers follow him around, eventually he got arrested in queens.
 - “I was satisfied that we were so on top of him that he left Greenpoint for his criminal pursuits”
4. How many officers are stationed here? Any specific task forces or teams?
 - Have some of the lowest staff numbers because our crime numbers are so low, around 115 officers, 140 total with sergeants and lts
 - We have the 7 bureaus
 - School team, every high school, we develop relationships with the deans and with the students “get to know who the bad kids are”
5. What do you see as your greatest problems regarding crime here? What strategies do you have to address them?
 - Property theft, car break ins
 - People leaving wallets and purses down “doing what they do in clubs and when they come back it’s gone”
 - We identify the problem and try and stop it, every week we give out maps with the location of the recent burglaries to try and track the problem (*he shows me map, with 5 photos of adult men below a map, 4 are not white, 1 ambiguous. 1 definitely black*)

6. What are the most important/vulnerable blocks, streets, or spaces for crime?

- Changes
- For car burglaries, north side of Williamsburg, parked cars on the side streets, N3rd-Franklin Berry/Wythe

7. Does your precinct have specific stations or patrol points/routes? What determines these areas?

- A-H, 8 sectors, it's fluid, lots of back and forth
- Every so often give a list to sgts of directed patrol locations: go to this spot. Guys in uniform to increase presence
 - Determined by observed patterns in crime
- Don't use under cover for directed patrols, "it's amazing what people think they can get away with"

8. What is your priority in terms of improving the quality of life for people here?

- "If you can measure it you can affect it"
- the 7 felonies: murder, rape, burglary, grand larceny, car theft, robbery, felony assault
- use the 311 system, if there are five or more calls for the same location in one week, message goes automatically to CO
- get a lot of noise complaints, number one complaint of 311, people walking home up and down the street at 2am.
- "I really feel for people who have lived here their whole life, their whole neighborhood is changing"
- 311 complaints about parking

GRAFFITI?

- City wide vandals unit
- We're one of the top precincts for graffiti arrests
- People do submit complaints about it

F-2. The 76th Precinct

1. How would you describe your job? What is your responsibility as a police officer in this precinct?

- When you're an officer walking the beat, your job is to learn the issues unique to your beat, get to know everyone: shop owners, clergy, schools. Face to face contact increase trust and increases the likelihood that they will give you information to help improve quality of life

2. How would you describe this community? Who lives and who comes here?

- "More and more residential mixed with commercial... before it was just commercial"
- artist type people, maybe hipsters although I don't know the proper definition of that term
- old timers, against the big box stores and the truck traffic problems on Van Brundt St "they were really against ikea"

3. What do you like/dislike about the community?

- Like: lots of variety "it's really mixed. You have the poorest of the poor living in the housing developments and million dollar brownstones. It's brought new life into the area. I like it better vital and alive versus run down."
- New cafes, bars, artists

- Dislike: not a lot... “the carefree attitude that comes from being in such a safe area, too lax, opportunity for crime.” People leave their things out while playing in the park, etc. Also noise issues, result of new bars and things
4. How many officers are stationed here? Any special task forces or teams?
- Don’t like to give out concrete numbers, around 200
 - Housing officers that work only in the projects
 - Narcotics team that works in here, work with weapons too
 - Port Authority has team for waterfront
 - Some officers that specialize in anticrime “plain clothes”, intelligence who works with informants, youth officers
5. What do you see as your greatest problems regarding crime here? What strategies do you have to address them?
- “crimes of opportunity” slough of young kids ripping iPhones/iPads out of people’s hands
 - quality of life issues: traffic, noise complaints
 - “it’s a very vocal community”
 - target low level crimes, beer drinking for example (issue open container violations), like broken windows
 - we keep track of criminals and juveniles, those going in and out of the system, “keep track of youth we’ve had negative encounters with”, work with Red Hook Community Justice Center
 - burglaries, car theft, robberies... all controllable
6. What are the most important/ vulnerable blocks, streets, spaces for crime?
- Crime analysis team at each precinct that looks at trends
 - We go to council meetings to hear what community says
 - Direct our manpower according to community complaints and crime analysis...
 - *Wouldn’t give me a straight answer and call out any particular area as risky*
7. Does your precinct have specific stations or patrol points/routes? What determines these areas?
- Defined by sectors (A-F): you are assigned to patrol a particular sector, on foot or car, do it as you wish
 - We do community visits: “for example stop by Ikea, check in, make sure everything is going okay” “only for commercial, could be Ikea, could be mom and pop shop”
 - There is the specific housing division of NYPD assigned to developments... one of the largest in the city with 8,000 people
8. What is your priority in terms of improving the quality of life for people here?
- “communication” we have email system with updates, also a monthly newsletter
 - get information from community, by way of council meetings, stay in touch with elected officials, groups, clergy, community leaders
 - not a lot of drunk and disorderly conduct
 - noise complaints, drug treatment, truck traffic, mediation
9. How do people in the community respond to your presence?
- Everyone is welcoming, a lot of people want more attention from us
 - “We’re humans too... getting out of the car”
 - “They see us as problem solvers”

- example: young guy who wants to be a dj, he is disturbing his neighbors... if you issue a noise complaint the issues isn't going away. We want to resolve the problem and "want him to be a good neighbor." So they are going to mediation, he and the neighbors, trying to find an alternate space for him to practice his music
- we use agencies and when necessary punitive damages, we've had lots of success

F-3. The 84th Precinct

1. *How would you describe your job? What is your responsibility as a police officer in this precinct?*

- "I am the liason between community and the commanding officer".
- Work on long term problems (for example drug dealer, patrol can catch him once but he can just go back the next day.... Root of the problem)
- Sometimes in plain clothes or uniform I'll go investigate myself

2. *How would you describe this community? Who lives here, and who comes here (and why)?*

- "very touristy, people come from all over the world, we've got the two bridges" BK bridge park, more under construction
- very commercial, a lot of artists, mostly people who work in manhattan and live here, walk over the bridge to get to work.
- 1 housing project, farraughts?

3. *What do you like/dislike about this community?*

- No dislikes, "try to solve everybody's problems" everyone has to understand, if I can help you I will, but you gotta let me
- Traffic issue, lots of tourist buses double parking, not everyone is happy, some issues take longer than others to be resolved.

4. *How many officers are stationed here? Any specific task forces or teams?*

- Around 200. Like all prents we have youth officer, officers who work in the local schools, narcotics... nothing special

5. *What do you see as your greatest problems regarding crime here? What strategies do you have to address them?*

- Crime analyst team does that, I don't really handle it
- Grand larceny and unattended property, we have community meetings, education, outreach, put up flyers... likely to happen at the gym, at school, at the playground

6. *What are the most important/vulnerable blocks, streets, spaces, OR TIMES for crime?*

- We focus on everything "there's no one set place that makes it more special than the next
- Crime evolves, criminals learn... one you put a cop there they're gonna move
- A lot of people don't want to be seen calling the police so they call community affairs instead
- Bars at night... noise complaints

7. *Does your precinct have specific stations or patrol points/routes? What determines these areas?*

- Divided A-I, assign officers to those sections

8. *What is your priority in terms of improving the quality of life for people here?*

- We are still officers, we're here to help you out, if we can we will
- "Patrol doesn't have the time to stop and get out of the car"... we can talk to people
- Traffic congestion, noise complaints, "people just want to vent"

F-4. The 71st Precinct

1. How would you describe your job? What is your responsibility as a police officer in this precinct?
 - “protect and serve”
 - reach out to the community, put out lines of communication, “get the right information out there so it doesn’t get twisted”
 - “open dialogue”
 - very important that we flourish the relationship between the different communities here
2. How would you describe this community? Who lives here, and who comes here (and why)?
 - “It’s very diverse, like a mini NYC”
 - islanders and caribbeans used to be the major population but they’re being pushed out as other groups move in
 - The jewish community was smaller but now it’s exploded
 - There’s now a large white American community on the western side by the park
 - Spanish crowd on crown and nostrand
 - Black community is moving in... different from Caribbeans
 - 2 public housing developments for senior citizens, 2 small, only two levels... they don’t give us any problems
3. What do you like/dislike about this community?
 - It’s challenging “you think you’ve seen it all and then you see something different”.
 - I’ve become close friends with a lot of people here, some of the rabbis, the community council president, jewish council representative. We ask each other for advice. They are very dear friends of mine
 - Dislikes: very computer savvy: I’m behind the curve now I can’t keep up with 5 different blogs and internet sites where they’re spreading information, twisting stories and posting them. It used to take just a phone call.
4. How many officers are stationed here? Any specific task forces or teams?
 - 165
 - narcotics
 - SNEU: low level, plain clothes officers that have a separate precinct (like narcotics). They operate in the 71st, receive some instruction but don’t respond to their CO
 - Only plain clothes, only deal with low level, drug deals, street stuff
5. What do you see as your greatest problems regarding crime here? What strategies do you have to address them?
 - Guns and narcotics: major concern because narcotics lead to violence and young people don’t realize the danger of guns
 - Telecommunications: everyone comes out of the subway and gets on their phone, 15 year old kid comes up with a running start and rips it out of your hand.
6. What are the most important/vulnerable blocks, streets, or spaces for crime? And times?
 - Pockets of resistance, we’re trying to turn a corner
 - Franklin and Union
 - Utica and Union
 - Franklin and President
 - Troy and Union
 - Cell phone incidents happen during work commuting hours

- Drugs happen after dark
 - Sometimes we get a shooting in broad daylight and that's very disturbing
7. Does your precinct have specific stations or patrol points/routes? What determines these areas?
- A-J: 10 sectors
 - Some are doubled like Adam and Charlie
8. What is your priority in terms of improving the quality of life for people here?
- "decreasing crime, everyone wants to feel safe"
 - second concern, almost as large as the first, making sure communities talk to each other. We can have big issues if this falls apart"
9. Prospect Park?
- White (or maybe Urban?) community moving in there, looking for park slope but can't afford it.
 - Crime is not as bad
 - We will go into the park even though it's out of our jurisdiction, if we're on a pursuit or something
10. Is one neighborhood more vocal? Jewish vs. Caribbean?
- Hear much more from the jewish community, they're more organized when they contact us
 - "we go out of our way to make sure there is fair treatment for both sides"
 - people want more cops only Flatbush but ultimately "they're a victim of their own success"

G. Census Data

G-1. The 94th Precinct

Subject Number Percent

SEX AND AGE

Total population	36,934	100.0
Under 5 years	1,289	3.5
5 to 9 years	1,021	2.8
10 to 14 years	1,048	2.8
15 to 19 years	1,253	3.4
20 to 24 years	3,014	8.2
25 to 29 years	6,468	17.5
30 to 34 years	5,460	14.8
35 to 39 years	3,292	8.9
40 to 44 years	2,348	6.4
45 to 49 years	2,017	5.5
50 to 54 years	2,316	6.3
55 to 59 years	2,077	5.6
60 to 64 years	1,707	4.6
65 to 69 years	1,083	2.9
70 to 74 years	868	2.4
75 to 79 years	600	1.6
80 to 84 years	545	1.5
85 years and over	528	1.4
Median age (years)	33.8	(X)
Male population	18,415	49.9
Female population	18,519	50.1

RACE

Total population	36,934	100.0
One Race	35,911	97.2
White	30,855	83.5
Black or African American	807	2.2
American Indian and Alaska Native	111	0.3
Asian	1,813	4.9
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	19	0.1
Some Other Race	2,306	6.2
Two or More Races	1,023	2.8

HISPANIC OR LATINO

Total population	36,934	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	5,702	15.4
Mexican	1,112	3.0
Puerto Rican	2,002	5.4
Cuban	119	0.3
Other Hispanic or Latino [5]	2,469	6.7
Not Hispanic or Latino	31,232	84.6

RELATIONSHIP

Total population	36,934	100.0
In households	36,744	99.5
Householder	17,033	46.1
Spouse [6]	4,845	13.1
Child	6,150	16.7
Own child under 18 years	3,593	9.7
Other relatives	2,202	6.0
Nonrelatives	6,514	17.6
Unmarried partner	2,027	5.5
In group quarters	190	0.5
Institutionalized population	0	0.0
Male	0	0.0
Female	0	0.0
Noninstitutionalized population	190	0.5
Male	141	0.4
Female	49	0.1

HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE

Total households	17,033	100.0
Family households (families) [7]	7,021	41.2
With own children under 18 years	2,366	13.9
Husband-wife family	4,845	28.4
With own children under 18 years	1,748	10.3
Male householder, no wife present	651	3.8
With own children under 18 years	142	0.8
Female householder, no husband present	1,525	9.0

With own children under 18 years	476	2.8
Nonfamily households [7]	10,012	58.8
Householder living alone	5,608	32.9
Male	2,664	15.6
65 years and over	396	2.3
Female	2,944	17.3
65 years and over	949	5.6
Households with individuals under 18 years	2,649	15.6
Households with individuals 65 years and over	2,969	17.4
Average household size	2.16	(X)
Average family size [7]	2.88	(X)

G-2. The 76th Precinct

Census information for the 76th precinct includes Carroll Gardens and Red Hook, thus does not exclusively represent the area of study

Geography: ZCTA5 11231

Subject Number Percent

SEX AND AGE

Total population	33,336	100.0
Under 5 years	2,411	7.2
5 to 9 years	1,754	5.3
10 to 14 years	1,479	4.4
15 to 19 years	1,463	4.4
20 to 24 years	1,696	5.1
25 to 29 years	3,409	10.2
30 to 34 years	4,298	12.9
35 to 39 years	3,645	10.9
40 to 44 years	2,940	8.8
45 to 49 years	2,282	6.8
50 to 54 years	1,815	5.4
55 to 59 years	1,585	4.8
60 to 64 years	1,341	4.0
65 to 69 years	1,023	3.1
70 to 74 years	751	2.3
75 to 79 years	585	1.8
80 to 84 years	443	1.3
85 years and over	416	1.2
Median age (years)	35.2	
Male population	15,584	46.7
Female population	17,752	53.3

RACE

Total population	33,336	100.0
One Race	32,008	96.0
White	22,953	68.9
Black/African American	5,015	15.0
American Indian and Alaska Native	178	0.5
Asian	1,413	4.2
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	15	0.0
Some Other Race	2,434	7.3
Two or More Races	1,328	4.0

HISPANIC OR LATINO

Total population	33,336	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	7,105	21.3
Mexican	562	1.7
Puerto Rican	4,284	12.9
Cuban	166	0.5
Other Hispanic or Latino [5]	2,093	6.3
Not Hispanic or Latino	26,231	78.7

RELATIONSHIP

Total population	33,336	100.0
In households	33,266	99.8
Householder	15,216	45.6
Spouse [6]	4,997	15.0
Child	8,274	24.8
Other relatives	1,631	4.9
Nonrelatives	3,148	9.4
Unmarried partner	1,652	5.0
In group quarters	70	0.2
Institutionalized population	0	0.0
Male	0	0.0

Female	0	0.0
Noninstitutionalized population	70	0.2
Male	45	0.1
Female	25	0.1
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE		
Total households	15,216	100.0
Family households (families) [7]	7,743	50.9
With own children under 18 years	3,717	24.4
Husband-wife family	4,997	32.8
With own children under 18 years	2,300	15.1
Male householder, no wife present	497	3.3
With own children under 18 years	186	1.2
Female householder, no husband present	2,249	14.8
With own children under 18 years	1,231	8.1

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Subject Number Percent

Nonfamily households [7]	7,473	49.1
Householder living alone	5,248	34.5
Households with individuals under 18 years	4,035	26.5
Households with individuals 65 years and over	2,618	17.2
Average household size	2.19	(X)
Average family size [7]	2.92	(X)

G-3. The 84th Precinct

Geography: ZCTA5 11201

Subject Number Percent

SEX AND AGE

Total population	51,128	100.0
Under 5 years	3,121	6.1
5 to 9 years	1,773	3.5
10 to 14 years	1,501	2.9
15 to 19 years	2,391	4.7
20 to 24 years	3,526	6.9
25 to 29 years	5,786	11.3
30 to 34 years	6,642	13.0
35 to 39 years	5,299	10.4
40 to 44 years	4,204	8.2
45 to 49 years	3,211	6.3
50 to 54 years	2,759	5.4
55 to 59 years	2,628	5.1
60 to 64 years	2,465	4.8
65 to 69 years	1,778	3.5
70 to 74 years	1,269	2.5
75 to 79 years	1,002	2.0
80 to 84 years	865	1.7
85 years and over	908	1.8
Median age (years)	35.7	(X)

Male population 24,484 47.9

Female population 26,644 52.1

RACE

Total population	51,128	100.0
One Race	49,197	96.2
White	34,316	67.1
Black or African American	7,741	15.1
American Indian and Alaska Native	154	0.3
Asian	5,036	9.8
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	29	0.1
Two or More Races	1,931	3.8

HISPANIC OR LATINO

Total population	51,128	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	6,365	12.4
Mexican	608	1.2
Puerto Rican	2,826	5.5
Cuban	260	0.5
Other Hispanic or Latino [5]	2,671	5.2
Not Hispanic or Latino	44,763	87.6

RELATIONSHIP

Total population	51,128	100.0
In households	45,630	89.2
Householder	23,325	45.6

Spouse [6]	7,281	14.2
Child	9,010	17.6
Other relatives	1,803	3.5
Nonrelatives	4,211	8.2
In group quarters	5,498	10.8
Institutionalized population	797	1.6
Male	313	0.6
Female	484	0.9
Noninstitutionalized population	4,701	9.2
Male	2,398	4.7
Female	2,303	4.5
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE		
Total households	23,325	100.0
Family households (families) [7]	9,852	42.2
With own children under 18 years	4,246	18.2
Husband-wife family	7,281	31.2
With own children under 18 years	3,131	13.4
Male householder, no wife present	530	2.3
With own children under 18 years	216	0.9
Female householder, no husband present	2,041	8.8
With own children under 18 years	899	3.9
Households with individuals under 18 years	4,575	19.6
Households with individuals 65 years and over	4,176	17.9
Average household size	1.96	
Average family size [7]	2.84	

G-4. The 71st Precinct

Geography: ZCTA5 11231

Subject Number Percent

SEX AND AGE

Total population	33,336	100.0
Under 5 years	2,411	7.2
5 to 9 years	1,754	5.3
10 to 14 years	1,479	4.4
20 to 24 years	1,696	5.1
25 to 29 years	3,409	10.2
30 to 34 years	4,298	12.9
35 to 39 years	3,645	10.9
40 to 44 years	2,940	8.8
45 to 49 years	2,282	6.8
50 to 54 years	1,815	5.4
55 to 59 years	1,585	4.8
60 to 64 years	1,341	4.0
65 to 69 years	1,023	3.1
70 to 74 years	751	2.3
75 to 79 years	585	1.8
80 to 84 years	443	1.3
85 years and over	416	1.2
Median age (years)	35.2	(X)
Male population	15,584	46.7
Female population	17,752	53.3

RACE

Total population	33,336	100.0
One Race	32,008	96.0
White	22,953	68.9
Black or African American	5,015	15.0
American Indian and Alaska Native	178	0.5
Asian	1,413	4.2
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	15	0.0
Some Other Race	2,434	7.3
Two or More Races	1,328	4.0

HISPANIC OR LATINO

Total population	33,336	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	7,105	21.3
Mexican	562	1.7
Puerto Rican	4,284	12.9
Cuban	166	0.5
Other Hispanic or Latino [5]	2,093	6.3
Not Hispanic or Latino	26,231	78.7

RELATIONSHIP

Total population	33,336	100.0	
In households	33,266	99.8	
Householder	15,216	45.6	
Spouse [6]	4,997	15.0	
Child	8,274	24.8	
Other relatives	1,631	4.9	
Nonrelatives	3,148	9.4	
In group quarters	70	0.2	
Institutionalized population	0	0.0	
Noninstitutionalized population	70	0.2	
Male	45	0.1	
Female	25	0.1	
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE			
Total households	15,216	100.0	
Family households (families) [7]	7,743	50.9	
With own children under 18 years	3,717	24.4	
Husband-wife family	4,997		32.8
With own children under 18 years	2,300	15.1	
Male householder, no wife present	497	3.3	
With own children under 18 years	186	1.2	
Female householder, no husband present	2,249	14.8	
With own children under 18 years	1,231	8.1	
Households with individuals under 18 years	4,035	26.5	
Households with individuals 65 years and over	2,618	17.2	
Average household size	2.19	(X)	
Average family size [7]	2.92	(X)	

H. NYPD Crime Data

H-1. The 94th Precinct

	1990	1995	1998	2001	2011	%Chg '11 vs '01	%Chg '11 vs '98	%Chg '11 vs '95	%Chg '11 vs '90	
Murder	8	4	7	5	1	-80.0	-85.7	-75.0	-87.5	Murder
Rape	10	6	16	4	3	-25.0	-81.2	-50.0	-70.0	Rape
Robbery	555	356	213	197	128	-35.0	-39.9	-64.0	-76.9	Robbery
Fel. Assault	297	211	146	108	92	-14.8	-37.0	-56.4	-69.0	Fel. Assault
Burglary	823	659	301	223	157	-29.6	-47.8	-76.2	-80.9	Burglary
Gr. Larceny	429	250	178	173	317	83.2	78.1	26.8	-26.1	Gr. Larceny
G.L.A.	1,279	538	421	258	115	-55.4	-72.7	-78.6	-91.0	G.L.A.
TOTAL	3,401	2,024	1,282	968	813	-16.01	-36.58	-59.83	-76.10	TOTAL

H-2. The 76th Precinct

	1990	1995	1998	2001	2011	%Chg '11 vs '01	%Chg '11 vs '98	%Chg '11 vs '95	%Chg '11 vs '90	
Murder	13	12	7	4	3	-25.0	-57.1	-75.0	-76.9	Murder
Rape	15	12	14	4	8	100.0	-42.9	-33.3	-46.7	Rape
Robbery	571	283	199	132	126	-4.5	-36.7	-55.5	-77.9	Robbery
Fel. Assault	392	236	167	131	96	-26.7	-42.5	-59.3	-75.5	Fel. Assault
Burglary	735	294	269	203	97	-52.2	-63.9	-67.0	-86.8	Burglary
Gr. Larceny	327	180	161	152	265	74.3	64.6	47.2	-19.0	Gr. Larceny
G.L.A.	666	351	201	106	38	-64.2	-81.1	-89.2	-94.3	G.L.A.
TOTAL	2,719	1,368	1,018	732	633	-13.52	-37.82	-53.73	-76.72	TOTAL

H-3. The 84th Precinct

	1990	1995	1998	2001	2011	%Chg '11 vs '01	%Chg '11 vs '98	%Chg '11 vs '95	%Chg '11 vs '90	
Murder	18	9	1	3	1	-66.7	0.0	-88.9	-94.4	Murder
Rape	27	22	16	5	3	-40.0	-81.2	-86.4	-88.9	Rape
Robbery	1,908	764	462	279	171	-38.7	-63.0	-77.6	-91.0	Robbery
Fel. Assault	384	375	280	200	126	-37.0	-55.0	-66.4	-67.2	Fel. Assault
Burglary	1,563	641	392	312	145	-53.5	-63.0	-77.4	-90.7	Burglary
Gr. Larceny	1,715	831	732	736	561	-23.8	-23.4	-32.5	-67.3	Gr. Larceny
G.L.A.	920	572	273	149	45	-69.8	-83.5	-92.1	-95.1	G.L.A.
TOTAL	6,535	3,214	2,156	1,684	1,052	-37.53	-51.21	-67.27	-83.90	TOTAL

H-4. The 71st Precinct

	1990	1995	1998	2001	2011	%Chg '11 vs '01	%Chg '11 vs '98	%Chg '11 vs '95	%Chg '11 vs '90	
Murder	36	11	15	14	9	-35.7	-40.0	-18.2	-75.0	Murder
Rape	86	79	52	38	20	-47.4	-61.5	-74.7	-76.7	Rape
Robbery	1,708	1,140	878	603	300	-50.2	-65.8	-73.7	-82.4	Robbery
Fel. Assault	860	892	707	490	385	-21.4	-45.5	-56.8	-55.2	Fel. Assault
Burglary	2,099	1,297	899	511	236	-53.8	-73.7	-81.8	-88.8	Burglary
Gr. Larceny	741	638	602	514	381	-25.9	-36.7	-40.3	-48.6	Gr. Larceny
G.L.A.	1,533	927	431	481	122	-74.6	-71.7	-86.8	-92.0	G.L.A.
TOTAL	7,063	4,984	3,584	2,651	1,453	-45.19	-59.46	-70.85	-79.43	TOTAL

I. Misdemeanor Arrest Statistics

Each column presents misdemeanor arrest information for the years 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

I-1. The 94th Precinct

NYCPD PCT 94	Total Dispositions		678	100.0%	532	100.0%	551	100.0%	703	100.0%	685	100.0%
	Convicted-Sentenced		359	52.9%	288	54.1%	279	50.6%	344	48.9%	309	45.1%
	Convicted-Sentence Pending		2	.3%	2	.4%	0	.0%	2	.3%	2	.3%
	Diverted and Dismissed		0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
	Covered by Another Case		1	.1%	3	.6%	1	.2%	2	.3%	0	.0%
	Dismissed-ACD		154	22.7%	99	18.6%	91	16.5%	189	26.9%	210	30.7%
	Dismissed-Other		110	16.2%	106	19.9%	136	24.7%	122	17.4%	107	15.6%
	Acquitted		0	.0%	1	.2%	2	.4%	2	.3%	3	.4%
	DA Declined to Prosecute		52	7.7%	31	5.8%	42	7.6%	37	5.3%	54	7.9%
	Other		0	.0%	2	.4%	0	.0%	5	.7%	0	.0%
	Total Sentences		359	100.0%	288	100.0%	279	100.0%	344	100.0%	309	100.0%
	Convictions to:	Felonies	7	1.9%	2	.7%	4	1.4%	4	1.2%	0	.0%
		Misdemeanors	116	32.3%	95	33.0%	107	38.4%	137	39.8%	123	39.8%
		Non-Criminal Offenses	236	65.7%	191	66.3%	168	60.2%	203	59.0%	186	60.2%
	Total Sentences		359	100.0%	288	100.0%	279	100.0%	344	100.0%	309	100.0%
	Sentences to:	Prison	1	.3%	0	.0%	0	.0%	1	.3%	0	.0%
		Jail	41	11.4%	42	14.6%	42	15.1%	76	22.1%	61	19.7%
		Time Served	42	11.7%	51	17.7%	72	25.8%	93	27.0%	75	24.3%
		Jail+Probation	2	.6%	1	.3%	0	.0%	0	.0%	2	.6%
		Probation	10	2.8%	5	1.7%	2	.7%	1	.3%	5	1.6%
		Fine	169	47.1%	97	33.7%	57	20.4%	47	13.7%	36	11.7%
		Cond Discharge	94	26.2%	92	31.9%	106	38.0%	126	36.6%	130	42.1%
		Uncond Discharge	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
		Other	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%

I-2. The 76th Precinct

NYCPD PCT 76	Total Dispositions		844	100.0%	907	100.0%	913	100.0%	893	100.0%	745	100.0%
	Convicted-Sentenced		474	56.2%	548	60.4%	545	59.7%	450	50.4%	348	46.7%
	Convicted-Sentence Pending		19	2.3%	18	2.0%	21	2.3%	25	2.8%	28	3.8%
	Diverted and Dismissed		0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
	Covered by Another Case		0	.0%	3	.3%	2	.2%	2	.2%	2	.3%
	Dismissed-ACD		171	20.3%	184	20.3%	147	16.1%	205	23.0%	206	27.7%
	Dismissed-Other		90	10.7%	105	11.6%	136	14.9%	135	15.1%	108	14.5%
	Acquitted		2	.2%	0	.0%	3	.3%	1	.1%	0	.0%
	DA Declined to Prosecute		86	10.2%	49	5.4%	59	6.5%	60	6.7%	53	7.1%
	Other		2	.2%	0	.0%	0	.0%	15	1.7%	0	.0%
	Total Sentences		474	100.0%	548	100.0%	545	100.0%	450	100.0%	348	100.0%
	Convictions to:	Felonies	1	.2%	5	.9%	3	.6%	9	2.0%	4	1.1%
		Misdemeanors	312	65.8%	328	59.9%	309	56.7%	196	43.6%	164	47.1%
		Non-Criminal Offenses	161	34.0%	215	39.2%	233	42.8%	245	54.4%	180	51.7%
	Total Sentences		474	100.0%	548	100.0%	545	100.0%	450	100.0%	348	100.0%
	Sentences to:	Prison	0	.0%	2	.4%	1	.2%	0	.0%	3	.9%
		Jail	192	40.5%	209	38.1%	176	32.3%	117	26.0%	96	27.6%
		Time Served	60	12.7%	69	12.6%	85	15.6%	63	14.0%	48	13.8%
		Jail+Probation	1	.2%	1	.2%	1	.2%	1	.2%	0	.0%
		Probation	2	.4%	3	.5%	6	1.1%	6	1.3%	1	.3%
		Fine	44	9.3%	67	12.2%	50	9.2%	50	11.1%	40	11.5%
		Cond Discharge	174	36.7%	196	35.8%	225	41.3%	213	47.3%	159	45.7%
		Uncond Discharge	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
		Other	1	.2%	1	.2%	1	.2%	0	.0%	1	.3%

I-3. The 84th Precinct

NYCPD PCT 84		Total Dispositions	1090	100.0%	1224	100.0%	1400	100.0%	1473	100.0%	1385	100.0%
		Convicted-Sentenced	581	53.3%	694	56.7%	812	58.0%	792	53.8%	792	57.2%
		Convicted-Sentence Pending	7	.6%	6	.5%	21	1.5%	12	.8%	16	1.2%
		Diverted and Dismissed	0	.0%	1	.1%	2	.1%	0	.0%	2	.1%
		Covered by Another Case	4	.4%	2	.2%	4	.3%	0	.0%	3	.2%
		Dismissed-ACD	281	25.8%	236	19.3%	284	20.3%	376	25.5%	332	24.0%
		Dismissed-Other	155	14.2%	230	18.8%	226	16.1%	198	13.4%	173	12.5%
		Acquitted	3	.3%	2	.2%	1	.1%	2	.1%	3	.2%
		DA Declined to Prosecute	50	4.6%	49	4.0%	50	3.6%	53	3.6%	59	4.3%
		Other	9	.8%	4	.3%	0	.0%	40	2.7%	5	.4%
		Total Sentences	581	100.0%	694	100.0%	812	100.0%	792	100.0%	792	100.0%
		Convictions to:										
		Felonies	3	.5%	0	.0%	8	1.0%	9	1.1%	8	1.0%
		Misdemeanors	333	57.3%	408	58.8%	471	58.0%	359	45.3%	398	50.3%
		Non-Criminal Offenses	245	42.2%	286	41.2%	333	41.0%	424	53.5%	386	48.7%
		Total Sentences	581	100.0%	694	100.0%	812	100.0%	792	100.0%	792	100.0%
		Sentences to:										
		Prison	1	.2%	0	.0%	2	.2%	5	.6%	5	.6%
		Jail	207	35.6%	270	38.9%	295	36.3%	224	28.3%	257	32.4%
		Time Served	92	15.8%	108	15.6%	146	18.0%	157	19.8%	154	19.4%
		Jail+Probation	1	.2%	2	.3%	5	.6%	1	.1%	2	.3%
		Probation	6	1.0%	9	1.3%	14	1.7%	8	1.0%	9	1.1%
		Fine	60	10.3%	71	10.2%	76	9.4%	104	13.1%	97	12.2%
		Cond Discharge	213	36.7%	232	33.4%	273	33.6%	293	37.0%	267	33.7%
		Uncond Discharge	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
		Other	1	.2%	2	.3%	1	.1%	0	.0%	1	.1%

I-4. The 71st Precinct

Arresting Agency			Disposition Year									
			2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
NYCPD PCT 71	Total Dispositions		2512	100.0%	2706	100.0%	2470	100.0%	2376	100.0%	2561	100.0%
	Convicted-Sentenced		1005	40.0%	1262	46.6%	920	37.2%	1030	43.4%	1050	41.0%
	Convicted-Sentence Pending		5	.2%	6	.2%	7	.3%	7	.3%	22	.9%
	Diverted and Dismissed		0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
	Covered by Another Case		1	.0%	6	.2%	5	.2%	3	.1%	1	.0%
	Dismissed-ACD		869	34.6%	826	30.5%	781	31.6%	695	29.3%	756	29.5%
	Dismissed-Other		452	18.0%	432	16.0%	543	22.0%	472	19.9%	493	19.3%
	Acquitted		3	.1%	2	.1%	5	.2%	1	.0%	4	.2%
	DA Declined to Prosecute		174	6.9%	170	6.3%	205	8.3%	115	4.8%	228	8.9%
	Other		3	.1%	2	.1%	4	.2%	53	2.2%	7	.3%
	Total Sentences		1005	100.0%	1262	100.0%	920	100.0%	1030	100.0%	1050	100.0%
	Convictions to:	Felonies	6	.6%	4	.3%	5	.5%	10	1.0%	8	.8%
		Misdemeanors	420	41.8%	503	39.9%	310	33.7%	359	34.9%	361	34.4%
		Non-Criminal Offenses	579	57.6%	755	59.8%	605	65.8%	661	64.2%	681	64.9%
	Total Sentences		1005	100.0%	1262	100.0%	920	100.0%	1030	100.0%	1050	100.0%
	Sentences to:	Prison	2	.2%	0	.0%	2	.2%	3	.3%	3	.3%
		Jail	196	19.5%	250	19.8%	143	15.5%	195	18.9%	176	16.8%
		Time Served	269	26.8%	416	33.0%	309	33.6%	366	35.5%	394	37.5%
		Jail+Probation	2	.2%	1	.1%	1	.1%	2	.2%	2	.2%
		Probation	4	.4%	7	.6%	3	.3%	8	.8%	10	1.0%
		Fine	93	9.3%	98	7.8%	88	9.6%	94	9.1%	65	6.2%
		Cond Discharge	438	43.6%	489	38.7%	373	40.5%	362	35.1%	399	38.0%
		Uncond Discharge	1	.1%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
		Other	0	.0%	1	.1%	1	.1%	0	.0%	1	.1%